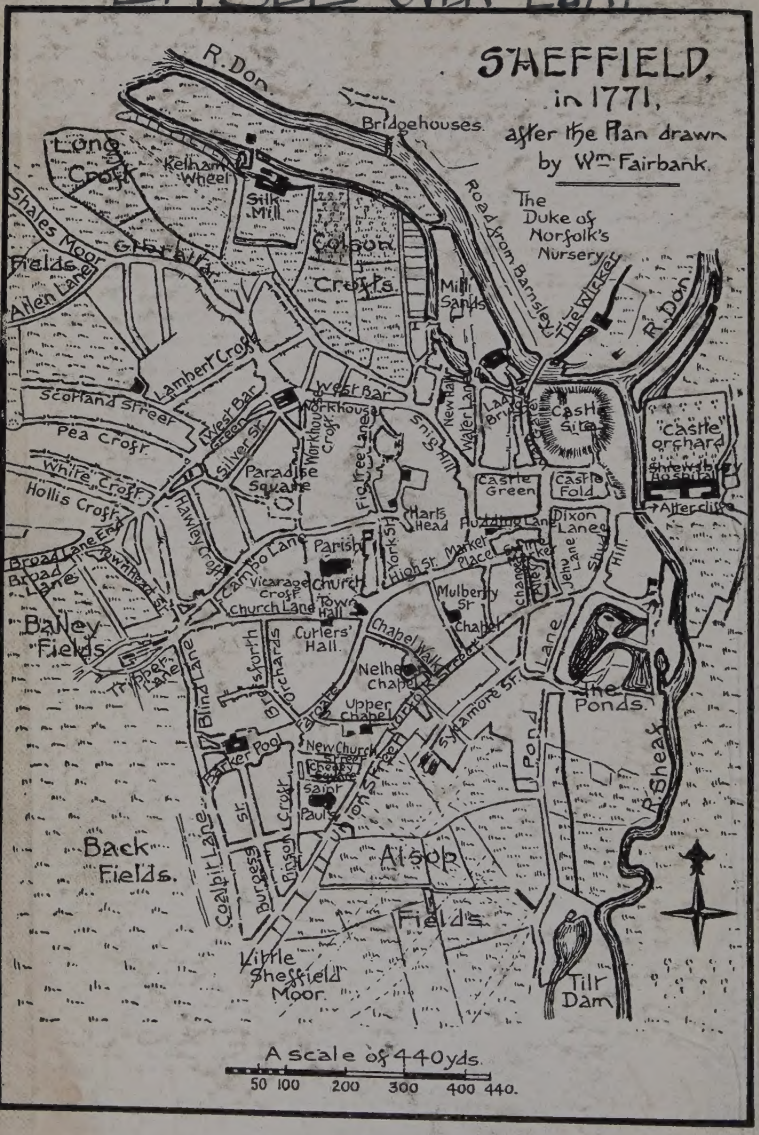
THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

SHEFFIELD

J. S. Fletcher

LABEL OVER-LEAF



MAP OF SHEFFIELD IN 1808

Front End-paper

U468
Fletcher
Sheffield
100973

WITHDRAWN FROM THE ISLINGTON LIBRARIES

Metropolitan Borough of Islington

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

CENTRAL LIBRARY.

HOLLOWAY ROAD, N.7.

HOURS.

ADULT LENDING LIBRARY

OPEN from **10** a.m. till **8** p.m. (except on Wednesdays, when it closes at **1** p.m.) **CLOSED** on Sundays and public holidays.

JUVENILE LENDING LIBRARY

OPEN. Monday to Friday, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. Saturday, 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. **CLOSED** on Wednesdays, Sundays and public holidays

RENEWALS

The issue of a book may be renewed for a further period of **15** days. When a book is not **returned** for renewal, this notice must be given in writing, stating the last date stamped on the date label, author and title of book and borrower's name.

RESERVED BOOKS

Any book may be reserved on payment of one penny to cover expenses. *See* Rule 21.

No person shall take out of any library book for use in any house in which there is a person suffering from infectious disease, and no person shall return to any such library any book which has been exposed to infection from any infectious disease, but shall at once give notice to the Medical Officer of Health that it has been exposed to infection and leave the book at the office of the Medical Officer of Health or hand it over to any Sanitary Inspector acting on his behalf, who shall cause the same to be disinfected and then returned to the Library, or destroyed.

V.– O. 1099—P.544—10 M.—1/33

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
LIBRARY SERVICE

Author

Title

BOOK STORE

Books or discs must be returned on or before the last date stamped on label or on card in book pocket. Books or discs can be renewed by telephone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader. After library hours use the Ansafone Service (01-698 7347). For hours of opening and charges see notices at the above branch, but note that all lending departments close at 1 pm on Wednesday and all libraries are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays and Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

METROPOLITAN
SPECIAL COLLECTION

(1) 2/4/71.

Islington Public Library

CUTLERS' HALL

Frontispiece

942.1666

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

SHEFFIELD

BY

J. S. FLETCHER

MEMBER OF THE YORKSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

LONDON:
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1919

WITHDRAWN
ISLIP
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Chief Librarian
L468
C reserve
100943

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED
LONDON AND BECCLES

MSC
U468
NATIONAL SCIENCE LIBRARY

PREFACE

IN compiling the following brief account of Sheffield, I have, of course, relied chiefly on the great work of Joseph Hunter, as edited by Dr. Gatty, which is likely to remain for some time the standard history of the city. But I have found a large amount of interesting and valuable material in the Burgery Accounts of Sheffield which were so thoroughly edited some years ago by Mr. J. D. Leader, and also in some of the papers contributed to the *Hunter Archæological Journal*. Much of the merely statistical matter given here is taken from Mr. John Derry's book written for the Sheffield Education Committee—an invaluable work for the use of Sheffield schools. I am once more indebted to Mr. W. T. Lancaster, F.S.A., for the loan of books and papers from the library of the Yorkshire Archæological Society.

J. S. FLETCHER.

THE CROSSWAYS,
HAMBROOK, CHICHESTER.
July, 1918.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Before the Furnival Charter...	9
II.	Sheffield under the Talbots	19
III.	Cardinal and Queen	29
IV.	Transition	39
V.	The Cutlers' Company...	49
VI.	1660–1760	58
VII.	Huntsman and Bolsover	68
VIII.	The Georgian Era	78
IX.	Steel	88
X.	The Modern Borough	98
XI.	City and Bishopric	108
XII.	The Great Men	117
	Index	126

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
CUTLERS' HALL	*Frontispiece*
GRINDING TABLE-KNIVES	16
THE NEW COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS AND POST OFFICE ...	32
BROOM HALL IN 1819	64
SHEFFIELD TOWN HALL	80
SIR JOHN BROWN	92
SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL	112
JAMES MONTGOMERY	120
SIR FRANCIS L. CHANTREY	122
END-PAPERS	
PLAN OF SHEFFIELD IN 1771	*Front*
MAP OF SHEFFIELD IN 1808	
MODERN PLAN OF SHEFFIELD	*Back*

AUTHORITIES

HUNTER, J., History and Topography of Sheffield, ed. A. Gatty, 1869.

HUNTER ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, Transactions, 1, 2, 1914–16.

LEADER, J. D., Records of the Burgery of Sheffield, 1897.

HALL, T. W., Ancient Sheffield Charters, 1913.

HALL, T. W., Sheffield Deeds and MSS., 1912.

CECIL, H., and WIGFULL, J. R., Sheffield Cathedral, 1916.

FREEMANTLE, W. T., A Bibliography of Sheffield and Vicinity, 1, 1911.

BRADBURY, F., History of Old Sheffield Plate, 1912.

LLOYD, G. I. H., The Cutlery Trades, 1913.

ADDY, S. O., Church and Manor, 1913.

ODOM, W., Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, 1904.

DERRY, J., The Story of Sheffield, 1915.

MORRIS, J. E., The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1911.

GLASSEY, W. J. J., Old Churchyards of Sheffield, 1896.

THIS BOOK MUST NOT BE TORN, WRITTEN UPON, OR MARKED IN ANY WAY, AND READERS WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY DAMAGE DONE BY THEM.

SHEFFIELD

I. BEFORE THE FURNIVAL CHARTER

WHOEVER will look at a modern map of Yorkshire will see that within the triangle of country, of which Sheffield, Doncaster, and Barnsley are the extreme points, there is now a gathering of towns and villages so closely set together that it is difficult to know where one begins and the other ends. The man who journeys from any given point of this triangle to any other point within it, passes through country which has been given up almost entirely to the builder. There are still, of course, open spaces, such as the parks of the great folk; there are still certain old-world villages, which modern industry has scarcely touched. But the prevailing impression is of collieries, foundries, iron-works, steel-works, glass bottle works, chemical works; if the old houses and ancient churches still stand, they are dwarfed and overtopped by the high chimneys of the factory, the vast walls of the sheds, the top-hamper of the mines. Smoke hangs thickly over the whole district; the woods are sprinkled with soot; there is a prevalent tint of sombreness, relieved only by the flashing of flame from the furnaces. And man is here as thickly sown as the grains in a field of wheat. There are 55,000 people in Barnsley;

50,000 in Doncaster; 67,000 in Rotherham; 470,000 in Sheffield. But what of the smaller places within this triangle? They appear as villages on the map, but they are villages wherein the population is counted by thousands. In all England there is no similar district wherein man as an industrial asset is more in evidence, nor one in which the superficial observer will be more tempted to say that the works of man have completely blotted out the works of Nature.

The traveller who has made one hurried journey by the Midland Railway through Sheffield and Rotherham would doubtless be astonished—and utterly incredulous—if he were told that he had just passed through a tract of singularly fine, picturesque, and romantic country. But if such a man could be bodily lifted, as by a magician's wand, and set down on one of the high ridges above Sheffield, and if a magician could, at a breath, sweep away all the foundries and collieries and workshops, and the miles upon miles of mean streets and terraces—then he would admit that a prospect lay open before him fair enough to compare with anything in England. Scott must have recognized this fact when he chose the district as the scene of the opening chapters of "Ivanhoe." He was certainly in the neighbourhood more than once, and in a letter to his friend Mr. Morritt, of Rokeby, in 1811, he speaks of the romantic effect produced upon him at Conisborough by a view of the ancient castle seen in the early morning: a little later than Scott, Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-Law Rhymer, wrote some of his best verse in eulogy of the natural surroundings of Sheffield. And if we would go back to the days of Cedric the

Saxon, and roam with Gurth the swineherd through the woods and glades of Wharncliffe, and down the valleys of the Rivelin and the Rother, the Sheaf and the Don, and over the solitary moors of Bradfield and Ringinglow, or climb the hills which are the last outposts of the Pennine Range, we should confess that here is a magnificent country—a fine country still, in spite of its disfigurement by the necessities of modern commerce.

Hallamshire must have looked at its best, its most picturesque, about the time when Cardinal Wolsey was brought a prisoner to Sheffield, on his way from Cawood, on that southward journey which ended so suddenly at Leicester. Sheffield was then a very small town, nestling in the valley at the foot of a castle which was already gray with age. Northward stood the still formidable keep of Conisborough; eastward the castle of Tickhill, and the great Cistercian house at Roche. To the south-east lay the Priory of Worksop; the Abbeys of Welbeck and Rufford; the ancient village of Edwinstowe set in the thicknesses of Sherwood Forest; the old hall of Hardwick, and the Castle of Bolsover. South and south-west stretched the great Peak Forest; in the valley of Sheaf, a little way beyond the town's walls, stood the Abbey of Beauchief. Westward lay the romantic dales through which the Derwent and its many small tributaries flow. West and north-west were Holme Forest and the great sylvan stretches of Wharncliffe Chace, and the valley of the Don, and the vast moorlands which still separate Sheffield from Penistone and Holmfirth. It is to the westward still that we must turn if we wish to gain some idea of the solitude in which medieval

Sheffield lay; from the south-west boundary of the city, onward to the Peak of Derbyshire, there are yet wide stretches of bleak hill and purple moorland whereon are still to be found the barrows in which the men of long ago laid their dead. This is an old, old land—those barrows tell how old. For while some of them are round, and the weapons found in them of bronze, others are long, and contain stone weapons, placed there many an age before the Romans landed in England and came gradually northward.

That the Romans knew this district is amply proved by the traces and remains of their occupation. But there are evidences of something like military work hereabouts which would be evident to the Romans themselves. There are plain indications of British camps at Coomb Moss, between Buxton and Chapel-en-le-Frith; at Mam Tor, near Castleton; at Carl's Wark, on the Derwent, near Hathersage; at Wincobank, between Sheffield and Rotherham; and at Bar Dike, above Bradfield. All these may safely be said to be pre-Roman. Of the Roman occupation itself there are certain well-established data. About 80 A.D. there was a Roman station of considerable importance at Templeborough, near Rotherham; forty years later there was a Roman settlement in the valley of the Rivelin; about 160 there was a Roman camp at Brough, between Hathersage and Castleton. A line of Roman road, leaving the Fifth and Eighth *Itinera* near Pontefract passed through Darfield and Templeborough to a long Roman causeway which ran through Sheffield and Brough into Derbyshire; when excavations were being made some years ago for a new workhouse

at Rotherham, several tiles marked COH IIII GALL, and a mould for a medallion of Diana, were unearthed. The camp at Templeborough was probably occupied by auxiliaries, like those at *Olicana* (Ilkley) and *Lavatræ* (Bowes).

There are few records of this district previous to the Norman Conquest. But according to the "English Chronicle," the men of Northumbria owned Ecgberht as Over-Lord in 827 at Dore, a little way outside Sheffield, to the southward, where there was probably a forest lodge, and at Dore—or perhaps at Bakewell, not very far off—Eadward received a like submission from the Northern folk—including the Scots—about a century later. After that we hear little of Hallamshire until the time of the Domesday Survey in 1085. There is mention of Sheffield in that, but it is only as a part—and evidently an insignificant part—of the Manor of Hallam. Here we begin to get at some clear facts. In Hallam there were sixteen places—hamlets or settlements. In size, the district may be said to have spread six miles out in every direction from where Sheffield now stands; there is mention of a certain hall, the house of the lord; the lord himself was the famous Earl Waltheof, of whom one reads a good deal in the history of those times. The archæologists of Sheffield have spent much time and covered much paper in endeavouring to settle the exact locality of that hall. Hunter thought it must have stood where Sheffield Castle was built at a later date; Mr. Addy considers it to have been somewhere in the valley of the Rivelin, probably on the site of the old Roman camp. But all traces of it had disappeared long before any history

came to be written. Of Earl Waltheof, its owner, however, we know much more than we know of his hall and his manor. He was the son of Siward, Earl of Northumbria. He made his submission to William the Conqueror after the battle of Senlac; he and the Norman became friendly and even attached; in time Waltheof married William's niece, Judith. But Waltheof was of a treacherous nature; he rebelled against the king in 1070, and again a few years later, and in 1076 he was brought to trial at Winchester, condemned, and beheaded outside the city walls—the only Englishman of note whom William put to death for what were, of course, political reasons. Waltheof's body was given to the monks of Crowland, whose house he had endowed, whither, in after years, the folk of the Fenland and of the Bruneswald resorted in large numbers, holding the dead earl to have been something of a saint—on what evidence, history tells us nothing worth knowing.

Probably because she was the daughter of his sister Adeliza, the Conqueror suffered the Countess Judith to retain her husband's lands after his dishonourable death. If Ordericus Vitalis is to be believed, Judith denounced her husband to William and gave evidence against him at Winchester. But she had little to do with Hallamshire and Sheffield. When William parcelled out Yorkshire amongst his chief followers, the extreme south of the county was the only part which did not fall into foreign hands—it was allowed to remain, as we have seen, in keeping of its English lord, Waltheof. But, close by, a certain Norman, Roger de Busli, had some holding—on the Derbyshire borders—and after Waltheof's death he

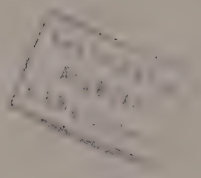
became principal tenant to Waltheof's widow, and acquired Sheffield, and Hallam, and Attercliffe, and evidently all the land stretching eastward to Tickhill, where he built a castle. He remained chief feudatory until about 1090, when he sold his rights to another Norman who came from the west side of the Fens, William de Lovetot. His first connection with Sheffield seems to have been as tenant—tenant to a tenant, perhaps—but by the beginning of the twelfth century he was virtual owner of Sheffield and all the surrounding manors, and before 1112 he had built some sort of a castle in Sheffield, and had either founded the parish church or had helped to restore and put on a better footing a previous one that had existed on the same site from an earlier period. The works of this early proprietor were considerable. He built a castle, however primitive, and made a moat round it—an easy matter, considering the abundance of water in the numerous streams. He made a mill, and a bridge; he founded a hospital and set up a market; at Worksop, a few miles away, he furnished the Austin Canons with land and money for the building of a Priory: one of his descendants was a benefactor to the Priory at Ecclesfield, which was in reality a cell to the famous Benedictine Abbey of St. Wandragasille in Normandy, and therefore an alien house. One way or another, these Lovetots left their mark on the district.

But the connection of the Lovetots with Sheffield and Hallamshire lasted no more than ninety years. By 1181 the last male of the family was dead, and the widespread lands were in sole possession of a girl of tender years, Maud, who, in due

course, was given in marriage by Richard I. (Cœur de Lion) to one Gerard de Furnival, the son of another Gerard who had accompanied Richard to the Holy Land. Gerard de Furnival therefore became Lord of Sheffield, and he and his direct successors held the manor for nearly two hundred years. He himself, after Maud his wife had borne him three sons and as many daughters, joined the Crusade and eventually died in Jerusalem. Later, his eldest son and successor, Thomas de Furnival, also went to the Holy Land, and was there slain in combat with the infidels. His body was brought back to England by a brother who had accompanied him, and was laid to rest in the Priory of Worksop, wherein his mother and other members of their family were in due course interred. He was succeeded by his son Thomas, who, in the reign of Henry III. took sides with the King when dissensions arose between Henry and the English Barons who were headed by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. For his loyalty—a much misplaced quality in this instance—Thomas de Furnival and his manor of Sheffield paid dearly. Certain of his fellow-barons, headed by Hugh de Lacy and Richard de Verdon, journeying southward into Derbyshire, tarried at Sheffield, and after damaging the castle, wherein its owner managed to keep himself and his household and retainers in safety, proceeded to burn the town. Thomas got the royal permission to restore his stronghold in 1270 and to fortify and strengthen it at the same time, and the castle which he then rebuilt, on the site of what is still called Castle Hill, at the meeting of the rivers Don and Sheaf, was practically that which was in evidence when Mary

Messrs. Mappin & Webb

GRINDING TABLE-KNIVES



Queen of Scots was brought prisoner to it, and remained in existence until the time of the Civil War. And since—as seems well established—the Barons burned the town, it is highly probable that they burned the church with it, and we may therefore suppose that when this Thomas de Furnival rebuilt his castle he built a new church.

Of the third Thomas de Furnival we know more than of any other of his family. He was Lord of Sheffield for a considerable period during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; there are records of his attendance in the Parliament of that time. He was summoned, for example, as Baron de Furnival to the Parliament assembled by Edward I. in 1294—a very notable Parliament, that, since it marked "the acquisition by the clergy and the counties of the right of representation in their proper assemblies, and an acknowledgment of the need of their consent to taxation—two steps which were never revoked" (Stubbs, "Constitutional History," ii. 127). It may have been the influences paramount at that Parliament at Westminster which induced Thomas de Furnival, three years later, to grant to his people of Sheffield their first charter. Granted it was by him, at all events, in 1297, and its provisions were, for that period, good and even generous, inasmuch as they gave to all free tenants the freehold of their occupancies, on payment of proper yearly dues, and relieved them henceforward of all tolls and exactions. Out of this charter sprang a curious body or corporation calling itself the Burgery of Free Tenants: it managed the affairs of Sheffield—outside ecclesiastical matters, which were attended to by another body, styled the Church Masters

—for several centuries. This Thomas de Furnival, then, may be said to have been, far off as his day now is, the maker of the modern government of Sheffield. But it was still a very small place when he died in 1332; still small at the time of the Poll Tax of 1379, though it had by then exceeded the Tickhill population in point of numbers and was creeping up towards the position of Doncaster. There was a fourth Thomas de Furnival: he was buried in the neighbouring Abbey of Beauchief. There was a fifth, who is known to have fought at Creçy. And soon afterwards the direct male line of the Furnivals became extinct. In 1383, by the marriage of Maud de Neville, grand-daughter of the last of the Furnivals, with John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, the manor of Sheffield passed into the hands of a family which was destined to hold it for two hundred years—many of them highly eventful—and then to hand it over to another family of equally ancient lineage, in whose hands it still remains.

II. SHEFFIELD UNDER THE TALBOTS

IN Sheffield Cathedral, in the opening between the chancel and the Shrewsbury Chapel, stands a magnificent, though now sadly decayed, monument, which shows, better than any other existing relic of those days, the state and grandeur of the Talbots who were so long Lords of Sheffield. Until the time of George Talbot, fourth and most illustrious Earl of Shrewsbury, the Talbots had, in common with previous Lords of Hallamshire, been buried in Worksop Priory, a few miles away: George Talbot, during his occupancy of Sheffield, built the Shrewsbury Chapel in Sheffield Parish Church as a burial place for himself and his successors. The monument in the opening is above his own grave: on the monument itself is his effigy, and those of his first and his second wives, the Countesses Anne and Elizabeth. The inscription, in brass lettering, sets forth the great man's styles and titles—he was Earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford, and Waterford, Lord Talbot, Furnival, Vandon, and Strange; he was a Knight of the Garter. But the inscription is misleading in one respect—the Countess Elizabeth, who survived her husband for many years and died in 1567, is buried, not here, but in the parish church of Erith in Kent, where she is commemorated by another monument.

There are other tombs in this Shrewsbury Chapel —all going to prove the high state of this family, whose members were much in evidence during the later Middle Age, at the time when Sheffield and its trade were gradually growing to importance.

The John Talbot who married Maud de Neville, heiress of the Furnivals, had neither styles nor titles when the marriage took place. He was summoned to Parliament, later on, as Lord Furnival, and as Lord Furnival he achieved considerable distinction in the wars of that period. He saw much active service in Ireland, where he was Lord-Lieutenant, and in France, where he was concerned in the operations which ended so dishonourably in the burning of Joan of Arc. But he himself had no part or lot in that bad business, for he was a prisoner of war at the time. Created Earl of Shrewsbury some thirty years after his marriage to Maud de Neville, continuing his career as a soldier after he was full of honours, he finally died in battle, being slain at a fight at Chatillon—surrounded, so legend tells us, by a bodyguard of his Sheffield tenants, all slain with him to a man. His son, John, the second Earl, and his grandson—also John—the third Earl, kept up the military reputation of the house; one fell in the Wars of the Roses, in the fight at Northampton, in July, 1460; the other, who died before he was thirty, had already been knighted for bravery on the field. So we come to George, the fourth Earl, whose monument has just been referred to. He was only five years old when he succeeded; he was brought up under the protection of the Nevilles, whose head at that period was Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, known to history as the

Libraries

King-Maker; in due course he married a connection of that family, Anne Hastings, who lies by his side in Sheffield Cathedral, and who died about 1511. This Earl held Sheffield for some seventy years, and during his time he not only lived in the town a great deal, but effected many important changes in it.

There is scarcely a relic of Sheffield Castle left for us of this generation to see, unless in certain bits of masonry which may be sought for in the streets which mark its site. It was completely dismantled after the Civil War, and no picture or plan of it is in existence. But we know where it stood—on rising ground just above the point where the river Sheaf meets the river Don: to this day certain streets bear names which refer to it—Castle Street, Castle Hill, and so on. It is said to have covered, altogether, a space, not inconsiderable, of four acres. Near at hand was a bridge over the Don, called Our Lady's, or Lady Bridge, there is record of its making in a contract of 1485, in which year a certain "Master Mason" undertook to make "a brygge of ston, over the watyr of Dune, nighe the Castell of Sheffield well and suffyciently." At the end of this bridge the fourth Earl built a chapel, and provided a chaplain for it. Around the Castle was a garden and an orchard—these grounds, indeed, are said to have covered fourteen acres, so that they must have extended over what is now one of the busiest and most crowded parts of Sheffield. As to the actual size of the Castle, and its adaptability as a residence, we know nothing., but as it had probably been built for merely military purposes it would certainly not be very convenient for the fourth Earl's large

family (he had twelve children by his two wives—eleven of them by the first), and early in the fifteenth century he proceeded to build himself a new residence which he called the Manor House. Some fragments of the masonry of this still remain, but it is impossible to form from present conditions more than a slight idea of what the original structure looked like when it was first built. It stood on a commanding site, from whence were obtainable fine views of the surrounding country; it was surrounded by a magnificent park, in which roamed great herds of deer; it was famous for its avenues, and for its wealth of oak and walnut, of which there was a great deal still left in the seventeenth century. Here, then, in a house which, judging from an old print of a hundred years ago, when the ruins were still considerable, was of imposing dimensions, and surrounded by gardens and avenues, the fourth Earl appears to have passed most of the rest of his days. Here he received Cardinal Wolsey in 1530. Hither, forty years later, his successor, the sixth Earl, occasionally conducted Mary Queen of Scots from her more confined prison in the Castle.

The fourth Earl, from certain small evidences, would appear to have been a far-seeing man, and one who was inclined to go with the tendency of his own times. He held certain official positions—he was sometime Lord Steward of the Household, and he had an appointment, the exact nature of which is not quite clear, as Lieutenant-General of the North. It is very evident that he had no part or lot in the doings of, or sympathy with, the insurgents of Yorkshire who were mixed up in the Pilgrimage of Grace, for in a letter from Henry VIII. to the Earl of Derby (October 19,

1536) the King refers to "our cousin of Shrewsbury, our Lieutenant for the repression of the rebellion in the north parties," and about the same date a joint commission was issued to the Duke of Norfolk and himself for the carrying out of military operations against the rebels. There is a great deal of correspondence in the Letters and Papers of that period with reference to the rising, between Shrewsbury, Cromwell, Darcy, and the King: Shrewsbury was in chief command against the Pilgrims at one time, and on one occasion, at any rate, his rashness led to serious embarrassment. During the truce which followed upon the first affair at Doncaster, he was at his Derbyshire manor of Wingfield, not far from Sheffield, preparing the defence of the North Midlands if the advance began again. We may gather from all this that he had no leanings towards what was already beginning to be called the Old Religion. In this his immediate successors appear to have been at one with him. Their predecessors, the first lords of Sheffield, Buslis, Lovetots, Furnivals, had been devout Churchmen, and good friends to the religious orders. But when the Dissolution of the Monasteries came, the Talbots apparently saw no reason why they should not join in the spoliation, and much of the monastic land passed into their holding. The fourth Earl himself appears to have got a good deal of the possessions of the Premonstratensian house at Welbeck: a successor of his certainly bought the lands of Monk Bretton Priory from one Jasper Blytheman, whose grandfather, William Blytheman, got it from Cromwell at the time of the Suppression. In 1553, Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, got a grant of the Trinitarian house

of St. Robert at Knaresborough, with the mill and appurtenances; in the same year his son, George, afterwards the sixth Earl, got the cell of Woodkirk, near Leeds, formerly belonging to the Augustinian house of St. Oswald's at Nostell.

From the Letters and Papers (temp. Henry VIII.) we get some side-lights on certain matters of the period in which the fourth Earl was sharing the King's commission with the Duke of Norfolk. He writes to the King from Hardwick asking for money—"money," he says, perhaps pathetically, "is the thing that every poor man will call for." Later on, Henry is hard put to it to find money for Shrewsbury's troops: Cromwell gets orders from him "to make shift to the utmost" to raise money: if he can do nothing else, he is to pawn the King's plate which is lying in the Jewel House. Food is so dear at this time that the soldiers cannot live on 1*s.* 7*d.* a day, though, we learn, the usual daily wage for a man was then 8*d.* The King thinks 8*d.* a day quite enough, and flatly refuses to pay more: Shrewsbury begs him to send £20,000; the King is not pleased, and sends promises. Then the generals beg the King to lend them £1000 each: they will themselves repay him at the end of the campaign—"neither I, nor my Lord Marquis," says one of the petitioners, "will be able to keep our companies long without money." One gathers from all this that Henry VIII. had long since got rid of the huge fortune ("superabundant wealth," Gairdner calls it) which his penurious and avaricious father had left him; one gets an idea, too, of what he was after in suppressing the monastic orders.

From certain other chronicles of the time one

learns a few details of what the fourth Earl did with certain members of the large family which had been born to him at Sheffield or at one or other of his adjacent country seats. One of his daughters, Lady Mary Talbot, he married to Henry Percy, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, surnamed the Magnificent; another, Lady Margaret, to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland; the Percy match was not productive of over much comfort, and at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, Shrewsbury had to send Moreton, his chaplain, to Wressle Castle, to try to get the Countess's allowance, she having left her husband, and being "now living with her father" at Sheffield. As to his son and successor, Francis, the fifth Earl, he was essentially a Sheffield man, for he was born at the Castle, he died at the Manor, and was buried in the Shrewsbury Chapel in the Parish Church. He appears to have been something of a Vicar of Bray, for he steered a straight course through the stormy waters of Edward VI.'s and Queen Mary's days—contriving, at the same time, to add a good deal of the land which had belonged to the monks of Beauchief, south of the town, to the family possessions. He was succeeded by his son George, the sixth Earl, who chiefly merits attention by his long custodianship of Mary Queen of Scots, but is scarcely less celebrated because of the fact that he was husband—the fourth—of that truly notable person who has achieved vast fame under her nickname Bess of Hardwick. She, in certain respects, is the most famous woman whose name has ever been closely associated with Sheffield, wherein, one cannot help suspecting, in spite of the sixth Earl's grandeur, wealth, and position, she

was the chief force, and most important individual, during many years of the eventful sixteenth century.

Elizabeth Hardwick, or Hardwicke, ancestress of some of the most notable of present-day great English families, was a Derbyshire heiress who succeeded to vast wealth. Her tastes, passions, occupations, and diversions appear to have been many, and of great variety. She was four times married—the Earl of Shrewsbury, who certainly knew a good deal about her from long and constant experience as her last husband, is said to have remarked on one occasion that he married her in an evil hour for himself. Her first husband was Robert Barlow, a Derbyshire man. The second was Sir William Cavendish, ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire. The third was Sir William St. Loe. Her only children were by Cavendish—she took care to marry them well, into the Cavendish and Newcastle families: before ever she married the Earl of Shrewsbury she stipulated that her daughter Mary should marry his son Gilbert, and her son Henry his daughter Grace, and these marriages were celebrated before her own—which took place in her fiftieth year. As we have seen, it turned out badly. The new Countess was one of those women who will have their own way; moreover, she had a hot temper, and was given to political intrigue. She intrigued with Mary Queen of Scots against Elizabeth, and with Elizabeth (who once sent her to the Tower for several months) against Mary. She contrived to marry one of her daughters, Elizabeth, to Charles Stuart, of the royal family of Scotland—from this union sprang the unfortunate Arabella Stuart. But the Countess's

Public Library

marriages and arrangements of marriage only occupied a part of her time and a portion of her energy. There were few matters of those days to which she did not turn her attention. She bought and sold land; she farmed land. She dealt largely in wood, coal, and lead. She lent money and was as fond of money as any Jew. And above everything she built. There is a legend that she herself believed that as long as she built so long would she live, and it is certain that she died during a hard frost which made it impossible for her men to continue the work on which they were just then engaged. We of this day can look on her achievements as a builder at Worksop, at Bolsover, at Hardwick Hall, and at Chatsworth.

Bess of Hardwick outlived her fourth husband by many years, and as she had perpetually quarrelled with him (it is said that at one time she was jealous of his beautiful prisoner, Mary Queen of Scots), so she continued to quarrel with his son, Gilbert, the seventh Earl. He, like his father, spent much of his time in Sheffield, and that he felt considerable interest in its people seems to be proved by the fact that when he died there, and was buried in the family chapel in the parish church, in 1616, he left certain instructions for the foundation of a hospital for the Sheffield poor, which was to accommodate twenty-four necessitous persons. But the executors found that there was no available money for the immediate carrying out of this pious bequest, and fifty years elapsed before a successor remembered and fulfilled it. That successor was of another, though of a kindred family. The seventh Earl of Shrewsbury had no son, and at his death, Sheffield, and all the rest of his estate, passed to

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who, in 1606, had married the Earl's daughter, the Lady Alethea Talbot. However it was that her father did not leave sufficient ready money to build what was afterwards called the Shrewsbury Hospital, the local chronicles do not tell, but the Earl of Arundel certainly became a rich man when his father-in-law died. In 1644 he was created Earl of Norfolk (he had been appointed hereditary Earl Marshal in 1621): to his grandson, another Thomas, the title of Duke of Norfolk was restored by Charles II. in 1664. To a Duke of Norfolk, Sheffield has ever since practically belonged, and from successive holders of the title has received various important concessions and privileges, sometimes by gift, sometimes by purchase.

III. CARDINAL AND QUEEN

THE evidences of modern life are so abundant in the Sheffield of to-day that few people who go there, or who live in its midst, ever associate it with the romance and tragedy which clings around so much of what we know of history. Not many ever think of Thomas Wolsey in connection with the great steel city; not many remember that in its midst Mary Queen of Scots spent fourteen weary years of captivity. Yet it needs little research and no imagination to reconstruct for ourselves certain sombre pictures of these two, the once all-powerful statesman, the once gay and vivacious queen, as they appeared when they came, one to the Manor, the other to the Castle, in those strange, far-off days.

When Cardinal Wolsey fell from power in 1529 he was commanded by the King to retire to his palace of Esher, in Surrey. In 1530, after being deprived of his bishopric of Winchester and the abbacy of St. Alban's (which he held *in commendam*), he was ordered to depart for his Archbishopric of York, and he set out thence in Passion Week. He stayed for a while at Southwell, where the Archbishops had a house; went forward to Scrooby, where they had another, and finally reached Cawood in the following October. During

his journey through the southern parts of his province he attended sedulously to his ecclesiastical duties, frequently confirming children in parish churches, and sometimes by the highway side: at Ferrybridge he confirmed two hundred candidates who awaited him at a stone cross which then stood on the village green. Immediately on his arrival at Cawood he was waited upon by the Dean of York, with whom he made arrangements for his installation as Archbishop. But Wolsey was fated never to enter York, though he was within seven miles of his cathedral church. On November 4, just after he had risen from dinner, he was arrested, on a charge of high treason, by the Earl of Northumberland, and three days later he was bidden to set out on his journey to London. He stayed the following night at the Cluniac Priory at Pontefract; the next at Doncaster (Cavendish, his gentleman-servant, and writer of his Life, says they stayed with the Black Friars—Dominicans—at Doncaster, but the Dominicans never had a house there, and he must have meant either the Franciscans or the Carmelites), and on the third he was brought to Sheffield, to the Manor House. "And when we came into the park of Sheffield," says Cavendish, "nigh to the Lodge, my Lord of Shrewsbury, with my lady his wife, a train of gentlewomen, and all my lord's gentlemen and yeomen without the gates of the lodge to attend my lord's coming, to receive him with much honour; whom the Earl embraced, saying these words: 'My Lord,' quoth he, 'your Grace is most heartily welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you in my poor lodge, the which I have often desired. . . . Sir, I am nothing sorry, but that I have not

wherewith worthily to receive you, and to entertain you . . . but such as I have, ye are most heartily welcome thereto, for I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord, and the King's true faithful subject; and here is my wife come to salute you.' Whom my lord kissed, bareheaded, and all her gentlewomen, and took my lord's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen and yeomen as others. Then these two lords went arm in arm into the lodge, conducting my lord into a fair chamber at the end of a goodly gallery, where my lord was lodged."

Wolsey remained at the Manor eighteen days, honourably and worthily treated, for the Earl had received letters from Henry VIII. requesting him to see that the prisoner lacked nothing of respect and comfort. "He lacked nothing that he would desire," says Cavendish; "being served in his own chamber at dinner and supper, as honourably and with as many dainty dishes as he had most commonly in his own house, being at liberty. And once every day the Earl would resort unto him, and sit with him communing upon a bench in a great window in the gallery." Wolsey was sore cast down: the Earl endeavoured to comfort him —Cavendish gives us some account of their conversation. "'Sir,' said the Earl, 'I have and daily do receive letters from the King commanding me to entertain you as one that he loveth, and highly favoureth: whereby I perceive ye do lament without any great cause, much more than ye need to do.' 'I am well assured, my lord,' answers Wolsey, 'that there is no man alive or dead that looketh in this face of mine, who is able to accuse me of any disloyalty to the King.'" The Cardinal

talked long and much to the Earl as to the accusations against him, and Shrewsbury promised to write to Henry on his behalf. Meanwhile he showed particular kindness to the prisoner, and endeavoured to persuade him to take some pleasure, and "to kill a doe or two there in the park," but Wolsey refused "pleasures and disports either in hunting or in other games," and applied himself zealously to his religious duties. In spite of the care and attention given to him at Sheffield, Wolsey was taken ill there, and it soon became apparent that his end was near. His illness, in his own words, took him "about my stomach, with a thing that lieth overthwart my breast as cold as a whetstone," and the medical help which was afforded seems to have been ignorant and elementary; daily he got worse, and one Doctor Nicholas "determined that he would not live past four or five days." In the midst of this came Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, with a bodyguard of twenty-four of Wolsey's old servants, to carry him to London. He made shift to leave Sheffield with them, who "lamented him with weeping eyes," and on his first day's journey he travelled as far as Hardwick in Nottinghamshire; on the second he rode to Nottingham; on the third to Leicester, where, night being fallen, "the Abbot of the place, with all his convent, met him with the light of many torches." With Wolsey's salutation, "Father Abbot, I am come to leave my bones among you," the great man passes from the world, a few days later, in the presence of the town authorities, "the mayor and his brethren," as Cavendish calls them. He was buried in the Abbey Church, it being then "about six of the clock in the morning." Many

THE NEW COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS AND POST OFFICE.
From a Lithograph by L. Haghe

things have been written of Wolsey and since he had this curiously pathetic connection with Sheffield it will not be out of place to write down here what was said of him by one of the best of our modern historians. "There is," says the late Bishop Creighton, "a largeness and distinction about Wolsey's aims, a far-reaching patriotism, and an admirable lucidity. . . . He set himself to dominate Europe, and was fearless and self-contained. He was fitted to serve England, but not fitted to serve the English King. He had the aims of a national statesman, not of a royal servant. . . . Wolsey was a true patriot, and had noble aims." And yet, as Dr. Brewer remarks, "No statesman of such eminence ever died less lamented." Wolsey, in fact, lived before his time—the vision of England, paramount and powerful, which filled him, was not in his day seen even dimly by the cleverest of his contemporaries: he stood alone.

Almost exactly forty years after Cardinal Wolsey was in keeping of the fourth Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield Manor, Mary Queen of Scots was placed in charge of the sixth Earl at the Castle. After the disastrous affairs in Scotland in the spring of 1568, she fled to England, and crossed the Solway on May 16. A short stay in Carlisle prefaced her removal to Bolton Castle in Wensleydale, where she remained for some time in the care of Lord Scrope. The disaffection which arose in Yorkshire, and culminated in the rebellion famous as the Rising of the North, led to her removal to Tutbury, where Shrewsbury assumed responsibility for her safe keeping. During the next few months he carried his prisoner about a good deal, first removing her to Wingfield Manor; then to

Chatsworth; then to Tutbury; then to Coventry; back again to Tutbury; then once more to Chatsworth, and finally to Sheffield. Mary refers to the last removal in a letter to Leslie—"My Lord of Shrewsbury, because he and others have opinion that change of air shall make us convalesce, is deliberate to transport us to-morrow to Sheffield." One gathers two facts from this—that Mary was in poor health when she came to Sheffield, and that the air of Sheffield was then of a quality good for sick folk.

The captive Queen's suite, when she came to Sheffield Castle, consisted of between thirty and forty persons, some French, some Scottish—amongst them being Lord and Lady Livingstone, William Douglas (who contrived her escape from Loch Leven), Mary Seton (one of the Four Maries of the ballad), Jane Kennedy, her nurse (who was with her in the last scenes at Fotheringhay), Bastian, her page (at whose wedding she was present on the night of Darnley's murder in the Kirk O'Field), Castel, her physician, and Rollett, her secretary—who died at Sheffield. Shrewsbury made a special selection of forty men from his Sheffield tenants who kept perpetual watch at the Castle: he took vast pains about her safe keeping, and in a letter to Cecil he boasts that if as many as five thousand men tried to release her he "would give them such a banquet as would make them repent that they had ever come to Sheffield." The regulations to which the Queen was obliged to conform were strict, and doubtless severely trying to a woman who until a short time before had been accustomed to having her own way in everything. Now and then, it is true, she was taken to Chatsworth;

more than once she visited Buxton, to take the cure which was already famous; sometimes she was removed to the Manor, where she doubtless occupied the rooms which Wolsey had used—but most of her fourteen years of captivity were spent in the Castle. Her amusements were few, and even her very walks in the grounds were jealously watched. She passed most of her time with her maids, sewing —according to reliable accounts, she and they must have got through an immense amount of needlework—but she was also an indefatigable letter-writer, and in spite of censorship, she appears to have contrived to set down her woes and complaints very freely to her various correspondents.

There is extant a document signed by Shrewsbury, at Sheffield, on April 26, 1571, in which the Earl gives orders to "Mr. Beton, Master of the Scots' Queen's Household," for its regulation, which had previously been submitted to and approved by Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil. Its provisions show how jealously Mary was guarded, and what precautions were taken about her own personal attendants. All people "appertaining to her" were to depart from her chamber or chambers to their own lodgings, within the house or without in the town, at nine o'clock of the evening and were to remain there until six next morning, winter and summer alike. None of the male attendants were to carry swords, within or without, or "when her Grace rideth or goeth abroad," save Beton himself. None of them were to carry bows or arrows, "neither to the field or to the butts," unless it were a few in the Queen's company, which seems to show that Mary occasionally practised archery. None of the suite were at any time to

leave the house or town without special leave from the Earl—if they transgressed "they shall come no more in at the gates, neither in the town, whatsoever he or she or they be." The Queen was not to walk abroad unless Beton or some other appointed by him first advertised the officer of the ward, who in his turn was to notify the Earl one hour before her Grace went forth. The final provision is significant. "*Item.*—That none of the Queen's people, whatsoever he or they be, not once offer at no time to come forth of their chamber or lodging when any alarm is given by night or day, whether they be in the Queen's chambers or in their chambers within the house, or without in the town. And if he or they keep not their chambers or lodging wheresoever that be, he or they shall stand at their peril for Death."

In the correspondence of this period which has survived there are some interesting passages; most of them have their pathetic side. On October 29, 1571, Mary writes to Queen Elizabeth "from my narrow prison of Sheffield," asking to be permitted to have an interview, for once, with one of her French servants, or with a member of the French embassy, to be allowed the offices of a priest of her own Church, and to be given the right of corresponding, in open letters, with her son. Shrewsbury, in a letter to Cecil, gives some account of how he watched over his prisoner. "I would be very loth that any liberty or exercise should be granted unto her or any of hers out of these gates," he says. "I do suffer her to walk upon the leads in the open air, and in my large dining-chamber, and also in this courtyard, so as both I myself and my wife be always in her company. . . . Safe watch is kept

within and without the walls both night and day." In 1574 Mary sent Elizabeth a present of a finely worked skirt of red satin; there were measles at that time in the Shrewsbury house, and the Earl writes to Secretary Walsingham about this gift. "It may be dangerous to the Queen to receive anything hence before it has been well aired." In one of her letters to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary asks for some companions in her prison-house. "I pray you to procure for me some turtle-doves, and some Barbary fowls, to see if I can rear them . . . these are pastimes for a prisoner." In July, 1580, Shrewsbury writes to Cecil: "This day I go with my charge to Buxton's Well." No doubt he thought himself exceedingly lenient and generous in his treatment of the captive, but a later letter of Mary's gives her ideas on the subject. "I have become so ill and invalidish by the ill-treatment for thirteen years I have received in this imprisonment that, at whatever price it may cost, I am considering to seek after and facilitate my deliverance." But Mary's deliverance was to come only by death. In 1583 she was removed for a time to Worksop Manor House; in the following year to Buxton and Wingfield; thence she was taken to Chartley; in September, 1586, she was removed to Fotheringay, near Peterborough. She was in touch with Shrewsbury to the last. His wife, Bess of Hardwick, had made charges against him and his captive which led to the Countess's appearance before the Privy Council, where she was forced to withdraw them. Her gaoler for fourteen years, Shrewsbury was also, virtually, one of Mary's executioners. It was he who announced the fatal news to her:

he sat on the scaffold when she knelt down to her death. And it was to him that she showed the ring which Elizabeth had sent her to Loch Leven —"a pledge of love and protection, trusting to which I came amongst you."

IV. TRANSITION

THE Talbots, like their predecessors, the Furnivals and the Lovetots, now disappear from our history, which, so far, has been more concerned with the Lords of Sheffield than with Sheffield itself. So it is with most of the general history of those ages—the powerful and the rich loom large, the small and obscure folk are seen, as it were, in a mist. And one begins to ask the question—who and what were the common people of Sheffield while the Lovetots, Furnivals and Talbots were going a-crusading, marrying and building, adding acre to acre, and generally increasing in power and wealth—only to die out, each in their turn, and leave their properties to other great families? How was the town going on? how was it growing? how making towards liberty and self-government, and the bettering of conditions? Unfortunately, old-time chroniclers were not greatly concerned with the story of the common people, and we do not hear from them so much about the life and folk of a medieval town as we do about its lord. But from certain remains we can get some knowledge. Old charters, old town accounts, ancient leases, ancient rolls, the very stones of an old building, the traces of things in a parish church, landmarks in the town itself, odds and

ends, all these give us some idea and information. From such relics we can piece together an outline of the history of a rising community as it slowly widened its boundaries, increased its trade, and made its way towards civic freedom and independence.

The sixteenth volume of the Record Series of the Yorkshire Archæological Society contains particulars of the Yorkshire assessments made under what is called the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1297. Herein are some interesting facts about Thomas de Furnival and some other folk of Sheffield—seven of the persons named were witnesses to the all-important charter which Thomas gave to the Sheffield folk of that year. The tax laid under this assessment was one-ninth of all personal property, except that knights and their wives went free as regards their vessels of gold, silver, and brass, their garments and jewels, and their harness and armour. The poorer folk, those whose goods were not, in gross, of the value of nine shillings, went free altogether. From the particulars in this Lay Subsidy Roll we can learn what men of property there were in Sheffield, or in its immediate vicinity, in 1297; we also know what their property consisted of. Thomas de Furnival, the lord, had 8 oxen, 2 horses, 6 young oxen, and 24 quarters of oats. Robert de Ekilsale had 6 oxen, 1 horse, 4 cows, 3 calves, 1 quarter of white wheat, and 12 quarters of oats. Thomas de Munteney had 4 oxen, 2 young oxen, 1 horse, 3 cows, 2 small stuiks, 1 quarter of white wheat, and 12 quarters of oats. Thomas de Fourness had 2 oxen, 2 cows, 1 young ox, 1 quarter of white wheat, and 12 quarters of oats. Radulphus de Wadesley had 1 cow, 1 horse, 1 calf, and 6 quarters of oats. The

total tax collected in Sheffield was £8 5*s.* 1¼*d.* But we learn something else from this return—the price of things in 1297. The price of an ox was 6*s.*; of a horse 3*s.*; of a cow 5*s.*; of a young ox 3*s.*; of oats 12*d.* a quarter; of white wheat 2*s.* 8*d.* a quarter: a calf was worth fifteenpence.

In the first number of the *Transactions of the Hunter Archæological Society* there is a paper by Mr. Edmund Curtis, founded on two Furnival Inquisitions *post mortem*, which are in the Record Office in London, where Mr. Curtis transcribed them. From these we may learn much of Sheffield and its people in the fourteenth century, which was, as Mr. Curtis observes, "of the greatest importance in our history from many points of view, and especially because of the break-up of the old manorial and agricultural system." The first of these documents is dated 1332; the second, 1383; there was accordingly a period of fifty years between them. In 1332 the Sheffield folk were divided into three classes—Free Tenants, Tenants-at-Will, and Bondsmen. The bondsmen were the successors of the villein class of the twelfth century, who, while possessing a certain small amount of land, were still subject to very heavy exactions and could be evicted without redress. Now it is significant that in the document of 1383, the Sheffield bondsmen are not mentioned—they had, in fact, disappeared as a class: in that year the town had nothing but free tenants and tenants-at-will: a hundred years later the term "customary tenant" becomes applied to these. Here is a notable step towards greater freedom and security. But there are other things to be learned from these Inquisitions. In 1332 the population of Sheffield had

decreased, much land was lying "fallow and untilled"; it was difficult to get tenants; not so many pigs were being fed; and (a most interesting reference) *two more forges* might be worked, if tenants could be got for them—a proof that iron was already being worked in the neighbourhood. In the document of 1383 there is reference to a Sheffield man named John Cutler—another proof that knives were being made which supplements Chaucer's oft-quoted line. That document also contains references to the Lord's Mill (a water mill) at which the tenants had to grind their corn, and to the common bake house whereat they baked their bread; there is also mention of a market, a fair, and certain courts of justice. So from these Inquisitions we know that in Sheffield in the fourteenth century the folk were attaining greater security of tenure, that there was already the beginnings of their staple trade, and that certain rules and regulations which were to widen were already in force. Oddly enough, in the Inquisition of 1383 the Castle is returned as being of no value —*Castrum de Sheffeld quod nichil valet per annum.*

We can get still more idea of the growing life of Sheffield during the later Middle Ages from the Burgery Records, which were so ably and thoroughly edited by Mr. J. D. Leader some twenty years ago. By the end of the fifteenth century the Burgesses of Sheffield were a fully recognized body; they are mentioned as a corporate body in the will of one William Hyne, who, in 1498, left certain properties to the Vicar of Sheffield in trust, with a reversion to "the Freeholders of Sheffield called the Burgesses" if the conditions were not carried out by the Vicar and his co-trustees. For many

centuries, under one constitution or another, the Burgesses carried on the government of the town, until they were finally merged in a new body called the Town Trustees : during the time of the Burgery they kept accounts ; these accounts date from 1566, and from the various entries in them one learns a good deal about Sheffield in the period of transition between medievalism and modern times. When the accounts began the Burgesses had little to spend—the annual amount for some time was seven guineas—but they did much with it. Let us see how some of the money was laid out, and what the various items of the accounts imply.

One of the first items to attract attention is that referring to the Town's Music. The Burgery had its musicians, waits, or pipers—they are referred to in these accounts right up to 1806. In 1574, 15*s.* 6*d.* is paid for the coats of two pipers ; in 1588, a coat for a piper costs the town 22*s.* 9*d.* it was lined and faced with silk and adorned with buttons. In 1692 three new cloaks for the waits cost £7 9*s.* 11*d.* ; they had three pounds in wages that year, and three shillings for playing at the Burgesses' dinner. What were these town pipers ? They were not peculiar to Sheffield—York had its pipers, and so had Beverley, where they are commemorated in St. Mary's Church by the famous Minstrels' Pillar. Mr. Leader says that, in addition to their musical performances, they acted as town watchmen. We may therefore conclude that those of Sheffield called the hour and announced the state of the weather by night, as well as piping and performing their music, on occasion, by day. Not less curious than the entries referring to these waits are those relating to a functionary called the

Window-Peeper. "Dec. 16, 1735—Paid Mr. Smith for the Window-Peeper 10*s.* 6*d.*" This individual was a district surveyor of taxes, one of whose duties was to ascertain how many windows people boasted and to make them pay window-tax—first imposed in 1696 under William III. to make up in some sort for the deficiencies caused by the over-abundance of bad money in the country.

In the early accounts of the Burgery there are frequent references to the Town Harness. In 1567 twopence is paid for a bill-shaft; in 1581 fourpence is given to William Slack for "oyle to dresse the harnesse and for nayles and coarde to hang yt up." But this was not gear for the Burgery's beasts of burden—it was military equipment which the parish was bound to provide for man or men "fitly trained to the active use of this armour"—so that he or they might be called upon to fight in the town's defence if need arose. In 1573, the town bought of William Graye "my lordes man," for the use of the town, "a corslette, viz. a bresteplate, a backepiece, and a head piece, and a morrys pyke head"—for how much is not stated. This was an old custom—many more are referred to: in these accounts we get many sidelights on the old English life of the little town. In 1570 the town swineherd still collected the pigs, and drove them to the neighbouring woods, for under date of December 3rd there is an entry of 3*s.* 4*d.* paid "to the Swynnarde Wiffe." The pillory, of course, was in evidence; in 1572 4*s.* 6*d.* is paid "to Thomas Creswicke for makinge the pillowrye." So was the cucking-stool for scolds and viragoes—there are several entries about it. "*Item* [1580] to John Reader for making of the cook stoole, 5*s.* *Item*,

to Johne Yates for irons at the same cuck stoole, 12*d.*; *Item*, paid for a cheane, ij lockes and staples to the same, 13*d.*" There was also a stocks, near the church gates: in 1576 Thomase Rease is paid 6*d.* for repairing this. Then there were archery butts in the town, and a township bow—now and then the bow has a new string, at the cost of a penny; in 1572 William Dyker and John Greave get 6*s.* 8*d* for "making the nare butt in the Sembley Greene."

In 1587 comes a mention of collieries in the neighbourhood: "*Item*, gyven to William Shemelde the constoble towardes the buryeing of a poore man that Dyed at the coal-pyttes, 2*s.* 7*d.*" In 1592, Thomas Yowle, another constable, gets 12*d.* "for to bayre his churdges in carryeing a young man to Mr. Rookesbie who was suspected of papistrie": Yowle got viis. for a similar excursion a little later, and iijs. for a halberd (presumably to carry with him). In the same year several entries are made with respect to the parish pinfold: in 1596 one Bysley is paid 16*d.* for bringing in "fox headdes"—town authorities and churchwardens often paid out money for this achievement in those days. And there are, of course, entries of frequent payments to beadles, and bellmen, and references to the workhouse, and that the poor were not forgotten is proved by items referring to Widow This and Widow That, and to payments made to poor folk "being very sick." Now and then the Burgesses seem to have helped other towns—in 1604 they twice paid money "for the Reliefe of Pountefract," which had just then been visited by the plague.

In addition to the information which one gets

from old documents, one can usually gather some ideas about the early life of a town from what is generally its oldest building—the parish church. In the case of Sheffield, the parish church (now the cathedral) of SS. Peter and Paul, does not appear to date further back than the middle of the fifteenth century—that is, as regards the present fabric, though there was a church there from the days of the Norman Conquest, and probably from Saxon times. We know little of it previous to the Reformation, but according to certain wills and documents specified by Mr. T. W. Hall in his Catalogue of the Ancient Charters of Sheffield, there were seven altars in the church before the sixteenth century upheaval—the High Altar; Our Lady's; St. Katharine's; St. Nicholas's; St. Clement's; St. Mary Magdalene's; and an altar at the Rood Screen. A will of 1430 refers to the Chancel of St. Crux—this may have been the "rood quire" mentioned in one entry in the Church Burgesses' accounts of 1570–71, wherein is set forth the spoliation done by order of Queen Elizabeth. "The xxiij. daye of Januarye—Stuffe sold by the chyrch-wardens and tymber at the takynge downe of the loftes in Chirche as hereafter followeth: one lofte on the north side solde. One stayre in the south side. One deyse in the rood quire. *Item*, solde to George Tynker the Cross Stones xij*d*. *Item*, paid for pullinge downe the Cross in the Chirch Yeard iiij*d*." But there are few remains of antiquity about the cathedral; there is no pre-Reformation plate, and there is little of interest in the parish registers, which date from 1560. One of the most interesting of the few notable entries shows that in the autumn of 1666

the sum of £27 10s. 0d. was collected "in ye towne and pish of Sheffield towards the relief of those psons who have beene greate sufferers by the late sad fire within the City of London."

The end of the old days of feudalism and medievalism in Sheffield may be said to have come with the siege and dismantling of the Castle at the time of the Civil War. During the previous hundred years the town had been gradually growing towards independence: since the days of the Talbots no lord had lived in the Castle, and the townsfolk had become more and more free of domination. As in the case of Leeds, the events of 1536–40 had made little difference to them—Sheffield, like Leeds, never had any monastic house, nor even a house of friars, in its midst. Nor, beyond the pulling down of the Castle, did the events of the Civil War greatly affect it. When the time came for taking sides, either with the King or with the Parliament, the Sheffield folk appear to have been almost wholly on the Parliamentary side—its leading townsmen, the Brights, the Spencers, and the Jessops, were certainly on that side, and the lord of the manor not being in evidence, they seized the Castle for the Parliament, only to surrender it, without any fighting, when the Earl of Newcastle, fresh from taking Rotherham by storm, marched in. Newcastle then made Sheffield Castle ready for a siege, and in May, 1643, left it in charge of Sir William Savile, who quickly gave up his command to Major Beaumont. In 1644, Marston Moor having settled the Royalist chances in Yorkshire, Major-General Crawford came to Sheffield with a considerable Parliamentary force, and after a bombardment of the walls came

to terms with the besieged on very favourable conditions. The Castle was then handed over to the Parliament; the Earl of Arundel, as its owner, forced to pay a fine of £6000, and shortly afterwards the old stronghold was so thoroughly dismantled that not a trace of it remains—unless in the masonry of the neighbourhood. Probably no man regretted its fate—recent events in Sheffield, affecting trade, disposed the Sheffield folk to look to present and future rather than to the past.

V. THE CUTLERS' COMPANY

THERE is in Sheffield a corporate body, founded nearly three hundred years ago, exercising vast power and possessing much wealth, which is, amongst all similar corporations of the world, almost if not absolutely unique. The Cutlers' Company makes and unmakes itself, it determines what persons shall belong to it, what persons shall go out of it, what persons shall come into it. Holding absolute sway over certain matters relating to the cutlery trade, it gives no right of choice or election to those whom it controls. Mr. R. E. Leader, in his monumental "History of the Cutlers' Company," sums up the position of this corporate body and the folk over whose work it exercises what is virtually an autocracy, in this way: "The Commonalty [*i.e.* the workers and producers of cutlery goods] as a body had one duty only—to obey decrees in whose making they had no share. They were absolutely subject to the thirty-three, and only by favour of that select body could any one emerge from the ranks. The Act [of 1624] was said to be obtained in the interests of the poor workmen. True to the ideas of the time, their superiors, and not themselves, were regarded as alone knowing what those interests were." This position—somewhat curious in the light of modern ideas—still exists.

In 1624 the cutlers of Sheffield, released from their obligations to the Shrewsbury lordship by the death of the eighth earl in 1617, took steps towards the management of their own affairs by applying to Parliament for an Act of Incorporation. The Bill embodying their desires was presented to the House of Commons in the first-named year, soon afterwards considered by a Select Committee of the House, and speedily passed into law. It was entitled "An Act for the good order and government of the makers of knives, sickles, shears, scissors, and other cutlery wares in Hallamshire, in the county of York, and other parts adjoining," and provided for the setting-up, by charter, of a Cutlers' Company, incorporate and perpetual, of all persons engaged in making cutlery ware within the liberties of Hallamshire, such company to be governed by a master, two wardens, six searchers, and twenty-four assistants—thirty-three officials in all. The thirty-three were to remain in office for one year, and were themselves to appoint their successors (who have usually been themselves) on each succeeding Feast of St. Bartholomew—August 24th. The Charter conferred powers on the Company to make laws and regulations for the government of all masters, workmen, and apprentices in the Sheffield cutlery trade and to inflict penalties on all disobedient members. The first master was Robert Sorsby (a name which, under one spelling or another, frequently appears in the Burgery Rolls); the first two assistants, Godfrey Bisley and John Rawson, names also well known in the town; and the first membership roll included 360 names, a proof that the trade was then firmly established. Fourteen years later

Islington Public Library

the Cutlers' Company built its first Hall, on a site adjacent to the Parish Church.

When did Sheffield folk first begin the making of the knives with which the name of their town is so closely associated? There had been smelting of iron in various parts of Yorkshire from very early times—there seems to be no doubt that the Romans smelted it during their occupation; later on the Cistercians had forges in use at more than one of their eight houses, and notably at Kirkstall, while the Augustinian Canons had a celebrated forge at Bolton Priory. Iron working doubtless began in the Sheffield-Masborough-Rotherham district at a period not far removed from the Norman Conquest, but the references to it previous to the fourteenth century are few and obscure. But in the Inquisition of 1332, to which reference has already been made, there is a clear indication that iron had been worked in the Manor of Sheffield for some time. "They say," runs the sentence, "that the underwood of the said Park and several pastures might suffice for maintaining two forges each year if tenants could be found." Mr. Curtis (*Hunter Arch. Soc. Transactions*, i. 1) points out in connection with this that in 1160 Richard de Busli made a grant to the Cistercians of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire (one of the many houses founded from Fountains Abbey) of "sufficient land in Hallamshire for the erection of four iron-works (*forgia*), two for smelting ore, and two *ad fabricandum, i.e.* forming into bars."

Whatever the reason of inability to find tenants for the forges mentioned in the Inquisition of 1332, there seems little doubt that by the beginning of the fifteenth century the iron-workers and knife-makers of Sheffield were increasing considerably

in number. We are all familiar with the much-quoted line of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," which refers to the Canterbury pilgrim who carried a Sheffield "thwytel" in his hose—it proves that Sheffield ware of this description was well known at the time Chaucer wrote. But there is another, more satisfactory proof that Sheffield cutlery was beginning to be sold widely, and especially in London. There had been a Cutlers' Gild in London from some period of the thirteenth century. Stow, in his *Survey*, gives some particulars of it. "In Horsebridge Street," he says, "is the Cutlers' Hall. . . . They of this company were of old time divided into three arts or sorts of workmen: to wit, the first were smiths, forgers of blades, and therefore called bladers, and divers of them proved wealthy men, as namely Walter Nele, blader, one of the sheriffs, the twelfth of Edward III., deceased 1352, and buried in St. James, Garlick Hithe. . . . The second were makers of hafts, and otherwise garnishers of blades. The third sort were sheath-makers, for swords, daggers, and knives." This proves that by the middle of the fourteenth century the London Cutlers were so prosperous, having such a good trade, that one of them was a rich man, able to fill the important post of sheriff in what had long been the most important city in England. Now, about 1400, these London Cutlers began to complain strongly of competition, coming from other parts of the country, and that some of that competition arose in Sheffield seems to be evidenced by the fact that in an inventory of goods issued in London about that time one of the articles specified is a Sheffield knife.

In the sixteenth century records of the trade

and references to it in contemporary documents begin to be more frequent. There are accounts of the bringing of iron from countries as far distant as Spain in one direction and Sweden in another. These imports came by way of the Humber, and were unloaded at Bawtry, then a small river-port, connected with the Trent by the little river Idle—obviously nothing but very small craft could come there. In an account book of the Earl of Shrewsbury's steward, 1574, there is an entry referring to the arrival of six parcels or barrels of *steel* from Bawtry. The sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, Mary Queen of Scots' custodian, sent a case of Sheffield knives to Cecil, and in an accompanying letter speaks of them as being famed "throughout the realm." Forty years previously, Leland the itinerant, who travelled a good deal in South Yorkshire about the years 1536–40, wrote of the coal-pits and forges, and of the smiths and cutlers, and the cutting tools which he observed about Rotherham and in Hallamshire. Frequent references to the keen edges of the Sheffield knives are found in the literature of this century.

But perhaps the best proof of the way in which the town's chief trade was growing in the hundred years immediately previous to the establishment of the Cutlers' Company is found in certain facts connected with the trade itself. Before the Talbot lordship came to an end there were no fewer than twenty-eight dams and water-wheels on the streams in Sheffield, a sure proof, in those days, when water was the chief motive power, of the existence of many grinding wheels. Then there is the proof afforded by that highly important thing—the trade-mark. In 1565 and again in 1590 the Sheffield

cutlers banded themselves together, under certain rules and regulations and penalties, having for their common object the exclusion of strangers from the craft, the proper apprenticing of learners, and the keeping-up of prices. There were provisions for the stoppage of all work for two periods—four weeks each—during the year and for the payment of fines by delinquents. But two regulations were of special note: one enacted that all knives must be made throughout in Sheffield ("blade and haft"); the other—most important of all—that every cutler must have his trade-mark, and one only, and that it must be approved by the Lord's Court, which consisted of twelve selected men "of the science and mystery of cutlers."

Now, these trade-marks afford an idea of how cutlery stood, as a trade, about the year 1600, twenty-four years before the Bill for incorporation was introduced by Sir John Savile. The mere fact that such a "Fellowship" was formed shows that the cutlers of the last fifty years of the sixteenth century were numerous—in those days a dozen, or two dozen, or even two score of men would not have dared to combine. But there is in the possession of the Cutlers' Company an old book which was kept about 1614 by one James Creswick, who was clerk to the men appointed as jury by the Lord's Court, wherein he set down the trade-marks which had been registered. There are facsimiles of some of these in Mr. Leader's "History," and in this book of Creswick's there are no fewer than 182. These, of course, were masters—each would have his apprentice. At the least, then, there would be 364 men making cutlery in Sheffield in 1614. Ten years later, when the Cutlers' Company

was incorporated, there were, as we have seen, over three hundred first members. But thereafter the number of marks registered rose prodigiously. In 1646 there were 979 trade-marks on the books; in 1679, 1982—of these 1562 were the marks of the knife-makers; 136 those of the shear-smiths; and 284 those of men who made scissors.

With the formation of the Cutlers' Company, the payment of dues to the lord died out. Under the regulations of the "Fellowship" of 1565–1590 all fines, with one exception, had been paid to the Lord's Court—in 1614 the Lord got £26 5s. in this way, and in 1615, £19—his jury got dinners for themselves each year, and the "cutlers of the poorest sort" got 6s. 6d. one year and nothing at all the other. Whether there had been any dissatisfaction or not under the old régime does not appear, but some arose in the town after the all-powerful Company came into existence. The workers began to chafe at the fact that they had no voice in matters; that the thirty-three autocrats elected themselves—and so forth. In 1791 and later, in 1814, Parliament was asked to step in, and since the last date the Cutlers' Company's authority has been confined to the matter of trade-marks.

At first the Cutlers' Company had no funds wherewith to erect a suitable house for itself, but by 1638 it had accumulated sufficient money to build its first Hall. Nearly a hundred years later —in 1725—it built a second; in 1832 it erected a third. Here are preserved the records of the Company, with portraits, busts, and similar memorials of principal members of the past. To be Master Cutler of this proud body is one of the

highest honours a Sheffield man may have conferred upon him. Before he attains to it he has passed through every grade, from election as an Assistant to that of Searcher—thence to Junior Warden—thence to Senior Warden. When once in the chair, he is first man in Sheffield—next to the Lord Mayor, who, as Chief Magistrate, takes precedence, of course, of everybody. And as Master Cutler, he presides over a feast which ranks with the Lord Mayor's banquet in London, and the Colston Dinner at Bristol. At this, which has been celebrated, with only three breaks, ever since 1648, some principal Minister of the existing Government invariably attends and delivers a weighty speech. There are several references to the Cutlers' Feast in the Burgery Accounts—Sir John Reresby, the famous Governor of York, mentions, too, in his Diary that he attended that of 1677: "I was received," he says, "by the Master and his Assistants in the Streets, with loud music, the shouts of the rabble, and the ringing of bells . . . and was entertained with a very good dinner and great plenty of wine." The Burgesses evidently made contributions to these feasts—in the Accounts for 1683 there is an entry, "To Mr. Pegg for Wyne for the Gentlemen who came to the Cutlers' Feast £4 6*s.* 8*d.*" Two years later, when John Winter was Master Cutler, there was a famous assemblage of guests, including the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Clifford, Lord Conyers, Lord Castleton, Sir William Wyvill, and Sir Henry Marwood—the Burgery accounts record that £6 10*s.* was given towards John Winter's expenses in this.

According to Professor Lloyd, sometime Lecturer on Economics in Sheffield University, whose work,

"The Cutlery Trades," is of singular interest and value in studying the industrial history of the city, the cutlery trade as carried on in Sheffield until comparatively very recent times, was the most notable example, amongst trades, of what he distinguishes as "small scale production." In Sheffield the craftsman, working on his own behalf, and at his own will and pleasure as regards hours of labour, has remained in evidence perhaps longer than in any other industrial centre of England. The practice was—and is still, to a decreasing extent—to let out work to handicraftsmen, who, either in their own homes, or in a workshop, in alliance with others, working under a "little master," did the work under something of the old conditions which existed before the factory system began. But this system is disappearing, not only before the tendency to uniformity, but before Government regulations. The Sheffield "nicker-peck" (file-cutter) no longer does as he likes in his little shop—the shadow of the Government inspector is always falling across his threshold. Hence a Sheffield poet voices his lament :—

"There's to be two ventilators
In good order and repair;
Us 'at's short o' beef an' taters,
Has to fatten on fresh air.
An' for ivr'y bloomin' stiddie
There's so many cubic feet,
We'st ha' room to play at hiddie—
Us 'at isn't aat i' t' street!"

VI. 1660–1760

IN the Burgery Accounts of the year 1625 there is an entry which would seem to show that the authorities and people of Sheffield experienced no particular feelings of joy when Charles I. came to the throne. His Majesty was duly proclaimed at Sheffield by Lord Darcy, whose entertainment on the occasion (that is, if it was shared in by others, as it probably was) appears to have been but of a cheese-paring sort. "For wine bestowed on the Lord Darcee when he came to proclaime King Charles," says the entry, "Vs." This, however, was slightly better treatment than was meted out to him at Rotherham, where the townsfolk spent only four shillings on his entertainment. But Sheffield was evidently minded to do things in far handsomer style when Charles II. came back to his own after the penurious years of foreign exile which he had known since the disaster of Worcester fight. What exactly were the nature of the festivities indulged in on this occasion we do not quite know, but Nicholas Lockwood, "Collectour," in making up his "Accompt" in 1661 for the year "ending at Martinmas last," puts down the following: "Spent by the Townsmen when the King was proclaimed, £8 13*s.* 4*d.*"—which, in our money, means something over eighty pounds.

Public59

This entry is curious for more reasons than appear on the surface. The restoration of Charles II. meant a good deal more than the mere restoration of the monarchy. From all the records available, there can be no doubt that the Sheffield folk of that period had been very much on the side of the Parliament and of the Puritans. The leading families of the town were decidedly Puritan in their sympathies. Such folks as the Brights (ancestors of the famous statesman of the nineteenth century), the Jessops, and the Spencers, were all Parliamentary and Puritan, and the regime which existed between 1642 and 1660 seems to have been highly favoured. Now, the restoration of Charles II. meant, not only the restoration of monarchy, but the revival of the hated Prelacy. For eighteen years the Puritans had had all their own way and had abused their power to a shameful extent. Claiming religious liberty for themselves, they permitted none to other people of different views. The clergy of the Established Church were turned out of their livings and often reduced to beggary and starvation; the Liturgy was abolished, and the cathedrals and parish churches were used as meeting-houses, while Church folk were persecuted; no less rigorous treatment was meted out to people whose form of religion, if not Episcopal, was no less hateful to the Puritan. The Quakers, for example, were scandalously wronged; those Puritans who sailed to America disgraced their cause by burning several Quakers, to say nothing of various unfortunate Indians who would not be converted to the principles of the Westminster Confession. How came it, then, that Puritan Sheffield welcomed Charles II.'s accession by spending £8 13*s.* 4*d.* on festivities?

We can only explain it by supposing that certain persons in high place in the town had become somewhat weary of the Puritan hypocrisy and were devoutly thankful to see it abolished.

But that Sheffield remained Puritan at heart is quickly proved by events which almost immediately followed upon the restoration of King and Church. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was placed on the Statute Book, and the great cleavage took place which resulted in the ejectment (which in many cases was not so much ejectment as deliberate secession) of two thousand clergy. There were many such clergy in Yorkshire, where the Puritan spirit had made great headway in the rising towns. In Sheffield at that time there was only one church —the parish church. Its vicar, James Fisher, its three curates, Rowland Hancock, Matthew Bloom, and Edward Prime, were all of the Presbyterian way of thinking, sworn enemies to Prelacy and to liturgical forms of worship. When the Act of Uniformity and its sister-measures, the Conventicle Act and the Five-Mile Act, were passed, all four clergymen left the church: a conforming clergyman, John Lobbey, was presented to the living by Mrs. Jane Jessop in 1662. The four ejected ministers suffered—three of them, the dispossessed vicar, with Bloom and Hancock, were imprisoned for a time. Later, his imprisonment over, Fisher started a meeting-house at New Hall, and gathered around him a congregation of Independents; by the end of the century this body (which certainly had the support of the more influential people of the town) had so increased in numbers and wealth that it built what became known as Upper Chapel and established in the then outlying Attercliffe a

sort of theological college for young Dissenting ministers. As far as one can gather from the available records, Conformists and Nonconformists abode together in a very suspicious brotherly love in Sheffield at this time, and one cannot help thinking that the people who, for form's sake, attended the parish church and its two chapels-of-ease at Attercliffe and Eccleshall were much more in sympathy with Mr. ex-vicar Fisher and his successor, Mr. Timothy Jollie, than with the lawful vicar and the time-honoured liturgy.

Meanwhile the life of the town as apart from its religious complexion went on in a steady and apparently comfortable fashion. The Burgery Accounts show that there was a good deal of building and repairing, making of roads and "paving of cawseys." Special occasions are noted now and then. The old custom of the Venison Feast was kept up, Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, had, in his time, permitted the smiths of Sheffield—"apron men" they are styled in the gracious permission—to keep holiday once a year, and had furnished them with a number of deer, which, on this festive occasion, were turned loose in a certain meadow, where the townsmen killed them and cooked them: also they had money given them for liquor. This saturnalia was in time replaced by a more orderly Venison Feast. In the accounts of 1664 one finds two entries relating to it—John Barker was paid 2*s.* "for bringing 2 buckes into the towne"; Thomas Skargell 8*s.* 10*d.* for his charges. A curious entry of 1679 shows that at this time the parish church was used as a common meeting-place for town's business assemblies. In 1681 there are records of street-cleaning

as a public duty—a scavenger was appointed at a yearly wage which was not to exceed 20*s*. Some other curious entries refer to the vicar's "wage"; it would appear that the living was then worth so little that the authorities occasionally supplemented it by money gifts; they also contributed to the cost of new bells for the parish church. Sometimes they laid out money in strange fashion—in 1689, for example, there is an entry of "Charges expended when the alarum was sent from Chasterfield (Chesterfield) that Briningham (Birmingham) and other places were on fyer, £7 5*s*. 10*d*." This, of course, refers to the Popish Plot affairs of 1688. Thoresby, in his Diary, mentions that in Leeds there were rumours that an army of Irish Papists was advancing, massacring all who opposed it, and that its members had already burnt Halifax and Huddersfield; he adds, too, that he had never been able to find how these rumours originated—possibly he was not so well acquainted with Titus Oates and his methods as later writers are. In 1697 the accounts mention the extremely bad state of the coinage. "Lost by money and gold taken by toll and paid by weight, silver 12*s*. vj*d*. 3 guineas, 24*s*. £1 16*s*. 6*d*." runs the entry. But, if this is doleful, there are plenty of entries which record rejoicings. There were festivities at various times, and in spite of everything that had happened in connection with the Acts of 1662–4, the restoration of Charles II. was annually commemorated by the ringing of bells—on May 29th, 1718, there is paid out 6*s*. 8*d*. for the ringers and the "bonefire."

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Sheffield folk appear to have become uneasy concerning their means of communication with the

outside world. Trade was increasing; it was increasingly necessary to get goods into the town and out of the town. The roads were bad all over England at that period; there was little river navigation; most centres were cut off from each other. In the immediate neighbourhood of Sheffield there were roads leading towards the Midlands and London in one direction; to Chapel-en-le-Frith and Manchester in another; to Tideswell and Buxton in a third; to Rotherham and Doncaster in a fourth. But they were little more than mere tracks. Horace Walpole, who visited this neighbourhood in 1756, mentions their badness in a letter to Mr. Bentley, written from Wentworth Castle in the August of that year. "I have made two little excursions," he writes, "and I assure you it requires resolution; the roads are insufferable: they mend them—I should call it spoil them—with large pieces of stone." That there were some good roads here and there in England, however, at this time, is evidenced by another passage in the same letter. "The Great [North] Road as far as Stamford," says Walpole, "is superb." But long before Walpole was at Wharncliffe and Wentworth, Sheffield had begun to establish some rough communication with London: in 1710 a stage-waggon for goods was set up and carried Sheffield goods southward at regular intervals.

There was, however, a natural outlet for Sheffield in the river Don, running through its centre, and in 1722 the Town Trustees and the Cutlers' Company, acting in concert with the Corporation of Doncaster, began measures for improving the navigation. The idea was to open up communication with the Great North Road and with the

with me as anybody, for I talk with him every day, and he takes a great deal of pains for us." A fortnight later the Bill is through, and Mr. Smith returns home to Sheffield triumphant; £10 is spent to "treat" him and his colleague Mr. Steer; vessels begin to ply on the Don; by 1731 the shareholders begin to get dividends.

However much inclined they might be to the earlier forms of Dissent, the Sheffield folk of the middle eighteenth century were evidently not well disposed, in the beginning, at any rate, to the doctrines taught by "the people called Methodists." John Wesley, whose visits to the town are frequently noted in his journal, seems to have come there first in 1742, when John Dossie (presented by the Jessops and vicar from 1713 to 1754) was in charge at the parish church. Dossie, whom Hunter defines as "a very respectable parish priest," appears to have had small sympathy with the new movement and warned his people against "wolves in sheep's clothing." Soon after John Wesley's first—or second visit—his followers built themselves a small meeting-house in the town; here Charles Wesley appeared and preached in 1743, and either at the time of his visit or soon afterwards, a mob of townsfolk attacked and levelled it with the ground. Not to be dismayed, the Methodists then erected a more substantial chapel near Burgess Street; in 1746, apparently without being checked by the authorities, the mob effectually destroyed that. From a certain entry in John Wesley's Journal, April 13, 1752, it would seem that legal proceedings followed upon this outrage. "In the evening," he writes, "I preached at Sheffield, in the shell of the new house.

[This must have been the chapel in Mulberry Street, which remained the headquarters of Sheffield Methodism for some time and was famous for its connection with Edward Perronet, author of the hymn, so popular in Yorkshire industrial districts, *All hail the power of Jesus' Name.*] All is peace here now, since the trial at York, at which the Magistrates were sentenced to rebuild the house which the mob had pulled down."

We get some idea of the still rough life and temperament of Sheffield at the middle of the eighteenth century from this example of the ineffectiveness of magisterial authority against the rule of the baser sort—probably, however, the magistrates connived, for Methodism was still highly unpopular. But things were improving, even then. Nothing helped to improve them so much as bringing Sheffield into communication with other towns, near and far. Perhaps the navigation improvement of the river spurred on the Sheffield authorities to improve and develop the roads. At any rate there was talk in 1739 of a turnpike road to Chesterfield, and in the following year 11*s.* is charged in the Burgery Accounts—"spent at Mr. Watson's at a meeting to consult about a Turnpike from Manchester." In 1760 £100 was subscribed to the Derbyshire turnpike; and a like sum to the Turnpike Road to Wakefield. And in the same year the first stage coach began to run from Sheffield to London, announced as a "Flying Machine on steel springs." It made the journey in three days, "sleeping" the first night at the Black Man's Head, at Nottingham, and the second at the Angel at Northampton; the fare was 37*s.*, and each passenger was allowed

14 lbs. of luggage. So Sheffield was being brought in touch with other centres, and the wits of its erstwhile home-keeping folk were doubtless sharpened. The best proof that the town authorities were beginning to recognize the importance of mending manners in Sheffield lies in an entry in the accounts of 1756: "Paid cricket players on Shrove Tuesday to entertain the populous and prevent the Infamous practice of throwing at Cocks, 14*s.* 6*d.*"

VII. HUNTSMAN AND BOLSOVER

IN the year 1742 there were two men at work in Sheffield who were probably little known to their fellow-townsmen—each engaged in labouring, steadily and enthusiastically, at problems which, up to that time, had not particularly concerned other Sheffield men. One, Benjamin Huntsman, was experimenting in the making of steel; the other, Thomas Bolsover, in the silver-plating of copper. It may be that neither had a full conception of the importance and magnitude of his labours, but Sheffield would not be what it is to-day if these men had not brought their brains to it.

Huntsman was a Sheffield man, born there in 1704. He was of Dutch extraction, and in religious persuasion a Quaker, and when he had become famous he remained so true to the tenets of his sect that he refused to have his portrait painted, and rejected an offer of election to the Fellowship of the Royal Society. He carried out his first experiments in making steel at Doncaster, where, about 1739–40, he was in business as a clockmaker; about 1740 or 1741 he removed, first to Handsworth and then to Attercliffe, for convenience in his work. The problem which he set himself to solve is thus set out by a famous metallurgical expert, Dr. Percy: "Formerly . . . steel was never

Institution Library

melted and cast after its production; and only in one instance, viz. that of Wootz steel, was it ever molten during its production. Indeed, by the founding and casting of steel after its production, its heterogeneousness is remedied, and ingots of the metal can be produced of perfectly uniform character throughout, and for the practical solution of this problem we are indebted to Benjamin Huntsman . . . who was attracted to the matter by the bad quality of the imported 'blister' or 'cement' steel with which he was compelled, in his clockmaking trade, to work. He had some clue to the direction in which to seek for the solution of the problem by the existence in his time of Wootz steel, an Indian product made by the carburation of wrought-iron crucibles. This manufacture had been practised at Trichinopoly for many centuries. Huntsman's main difficulty lay in discovering a fire-clay in which the bars or ingots of the bar iron or cement steel could be molten. . . . No date can be assigned to Huntsman's final solution of the problem, nor does any record appear to exist as to the succession of his experiments. But in a work of the period, 'Voyages Metallurgiques,' its author, M. Galine Sars, shows the progress made by 1764: that is, after the problem had been worked on for twenty-four years: Blister steel is rendered more perfect by the following operation: Ordinarily, the scrap and cuttings from articles of steel are used. Furnaces of fire-clay are employed, of a similar pattern to those for brass castings. They are, however, much smaller, and receive the air by an underground passage. At the mouth, which is square, and at the surface of the ground, there is a hole

through the wall, from which ascends the chimney stack. These furnaces contain only one large crucible 9 to 10 inches high and 6 to 7 inches in diameter. The steel is put into the crucible with a flux, which is kept secret, and the crucible is placed upon a round brick set upon the fire bars. Coal, which has been reduced to coke, is placed round the crucibles and the furnace is filled. Fire is then put to it; at the same time the upper opening of the furnace is entirely closed with a brick door, surrounded by a circle of iron. The flame goes through the pipe into the chimney. The crucible is five hours in the furnace before the steel is properly melted. Several operations follow. Square or octagon moulds, made of two pieces of cast iron, are put one against the other, and the steel poured in at one extremity . . . ingots of this cast steel resemble pig iron. This steel is worked under the hammer, as is done with blister steel, but is heated less highly, and with more precautions, because of its liability to break. The object of this operation is to make the steel so homogeneous that there may be no flaw, as perceived in that which comes from Germany, and this, it is said, can only be done by fusion. This steel, continues the author of 'Voyages Metallurgiques,' is not extensively used; it is employed only for purposes where a fine polish is required; of it are made the best razors, the finest steel chains, watch springs and watchmakers' files." [*Vide* "Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute," 1894, article on "The Early History of Crucible Steel."]

It may have been through the report just referred to and epitomized that Huntsman's steel

Islington Public Libraries

found high favour in France. In Sheffield, truth to tell, it at first found no favour. The Sheffield cutlers and their workmen did not like it—it was, they said, too hard, and would not work easily. But Huntsman exported it to France, and presently it returned in the shape of French cutlery. Those who dealt in such wares pronounced the foreign product to be infinitely superior to the goods then being turned out at Sheffield. Thereupon the English manufacturers endeavoured to obtain prohibition of Huntsman's exportations, but it was soon indicated to them that they could use his steel themselves and so do away with French competition. On that Sheffield gave way, and by 1772, when Huntsman moved his works to Attercliffe, he was doing a big trade in his own neighbourhood; when he died, in 1776, his firm was exporting vast quantities of steel to the United States.

In March, 1792, there was issued by Messrs. Fourness and Ashworth, described as Engineers to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Clarence, a professional report on Huntsman's Cast Steel, which is well worth reprinting to-day, as showing what was thought of the new product on the eve of the century in which its use was to be developed in such extraordinary fashion. It is headed *To The Public:* "In justice to Mr. Huntsman," it begins, "who makes the best cast steel in this or perhaps any other country we wish to present Society at large with the following brief character [*sic*] of it, which, as persons who have been for several years in the habit of using it, we shall at all times be ready to confirm. We have made trial of different kinds of cast steel,

but never met with any that would abide the same execution as Huntsman's. The efficient properties of Mr. Huntsman's cast steel are simply two, namely, extreme hardness combined with great toughness and ductility. A point may be made of it that will cut glass, and, at the same time, endure arduous work as a Turning Tool for any kind of metal without undergoing those frequent repairs necessary to tools made of other steel. It is calculated, also, to take the highest polish; therefore, for Burnishing Tools, or plates, to heat or roll any kind of metal to a fine surface upon [*sic*] it possesses a decided superiority; and, as to Dies, there is no steel that can be made into a face of equal hardness and durability. In Buckles, Buttons, and other articles of the steel kind, to which great superficial brilliancy is requisite, there is, we believe, not another fabric of steel so completely adequate. Indeed, as a hint to Opticians, it is probable this Steel would admit of a polish sufficient for speculums; for Mirrors it is particularly suitable. By a judicious workman a plate of this steel can be *laid to*, and united firmly with any malleable iron or steel, of even an ordinary kind. There are many smiths within the compass of our knowledge who have not been able to find out the real qualities of this steel on account of having no previous instructions relative to the working of it. It has often been said, and amongst other incorrect statements, that the Huntsman cast steel could not be united or welded to any other steel or iron; but the opinion is a mistaken one, because we can satisfactorily prove to any person that Mr. Huntsman's cast steel may be securely united or welded, to any other steel or forged iron. To elucidate this fact is one part of

the design of this Testimonial. When smiths use cast steel, they frequently imagine that it requires the same heat commonly given to other steel before it comes under the hammer: nay, some indeed think that it is necessary to give the same heat to it they would give to iron; whereas, if, instead of this erroneous method Huntsman cast steel were treated with care in the fire by the smith who works it, it might, as already observed, be laid to any piece of wrought iron or steel. In fine, two pieces of the same steel, at a proper welding heat, will soon unite under the hammer together. Steel, of so fine a texture as it is, cannot bear excessive heat, since excessive heat undoubtedly destroys one of its two virtual properties—we mean its toughness. In the facing of Anvils and Hammers and the making of Cold Chissels [*sic*] no other steel we have been able to select can bear any competition with it. It may be tempered to any degree of hardness and again meliorated to any degree of hardness or ductility. Needles of all denominations, Fish-Hooks of every kind, may be much best relied on, when made of this steel. Like wise (to be concise) Edged Tools of every description made of the same; Screw Taps and Plates, Drills and Boring Bits, Points of Tools for the digging of ores, coal, etc., most of which we have some acquaintance with, are more to be confided in than any other we have tried. It may not be unnecessary to observe," conclude the authors, "(since the idea of interestedness generally produces bias) that we have no connection whatever with Mr. Huntsman, nor is it at all at his request or instance, we lay before the Public this sketch of the qualities of his Steel . . . we understand that during the course of

more than thirty years of time devoted to the manufacture of it, he has so far neglected his own interest and credit as never to give to the Public . . . any account whatever of his Steel . . . Huntsman has suffered much by some manufacturers . . . unfairly making use of his stamp." The gratuitous testimonial ends by speaking of Huntsman as a man in an advanced stage of life, one to whom an increase in trade would be beneficial, not only to himself, but to his family. This is somewhat puzzling, because if this Report was published, according to its date, in March, 1792, and if, as is stated in the "Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute," Huntsman died in June, 1776, he had been dead sixteen years when it was put forth. The only explanation which occurs is that either Messrs. Fourness and Ashworth wrote their "character" while Huntsman was still living and deferred its publication for some years, or that they referred to his son, who, as his father was born in 1704, might in 1792 have been an elderly man.

There are curious legends in Sheffield to this day as to how various folk of the town tried to rob Huntsman of the secret of his discovery. One appears to have some basis. The first Sheffield firm to make crucible steel after Huntsman was that of Walker, of Ecclesfield. Some of the heads of that firm certainly became acquainted with the mysteries of Huntsman's process, and it is said that the secret was secured by one of them, who, attiring himself as a tramp, or, as the parish registers would have described him in those days, "a traveller," approached Huntsman's works one bitterly cold night in winter and craved permission

to warm his starved body at the furnace fire. This being granted to him, and he seated in some snug corner, he secretly watched what was done, and triumphantly carried away with him the knowledge so craftily acquired.

Huntsman's fellow-inventor of the time, Thomas Bolsover, father of silver-plating, was evidently one of those men who do not realize the immense possibilities of the secrets they discover. He was a Sheffield mechanic, who, just about the period in which Huntsman found out how to make the best steel that had yet been known, hit upon the secret of uniting silver and copper in such fashion as to turn out a silver surface on a copper ground. Collectors of old Sheffield plate know how the articles turned out between the first years of Bolsover's invention and the era of electro-plating which succeeded silver-plating are prized and of what value they are when put before purchasers at modern auction sales, or elsewhere. Bolsover himself, from what we can learn of him, does not appear to have realized that he was introducing an industry which was to make the fortunes of many Sheffield families. As for his own work, he used his process at first for making such insignificant articles as silver-plated buttons and buckles; a little later he applied his secret to snuff-boxes, on the suggestion of Joseph Wilson, maker of the universally famous Top Mill Snuff—so called from the name of the mill in which it was made at Sharrow, close to the town. Wilson entered into partnership with Bolsover in the silver-plating business, but Bolsover also carried on a business in rolling steel and manufacturing certain steel goods, especially saws. He does not appear, either

on his own behalf or when he and Wilson were in partnership, to have protected his discovery, and within thirty years of his making it, there were nearly twenty firms of silversmiths at work in the town. In fact, so much silver was brought into Sheffield for manufacturing purposes that an Assay Office was ordered to be set up, and was established in 1773. This was in compliance with the Acts of 1700 and 1739, which provided that all gold and silver ware before being sold or exported must be stamped with the initials of the worker or marker, and the assay mark of one of six assaying towns—York, Exeter, Bristol, Newcastle, Norwich, Chester. Sheffield now joined these and began to manufacture silver-plated goods in considerable quantity; its firms also began to make articles in solid silver. In the first days of this new and important trade, the principal pioneers were Tudor and Leader, and Cadman and Roberts; later, the firms of Dixon, of Walker and Hall, and of Mappin and Webb, still further developed the industry which began with Thomas Bolsover. One of the modern houses of Sheffield silversmiths, Bradburys', has published what is probably the standard work on Sheffield plate, full of fine illustrations of typical pieces. During the last seventy years, however, silver-plating in Sheffield has been largely displaced by the modern invention of electro-plating, and old Sheffield ware is now chiefly a prize to be anxiously sought for by collectors, or to be jealously taken care of by folk to whom it has been handed down from previous proud possessors. Any one who owns a good piece of old Sheffield plate may think himself a lucky man; any seeker after such things who should be fortunate enough to discover

a snuff-box produced under the Bolsover-Wilson partnership, or a set of buttons, or a pair of shoe-buckles plated by Bolsover himself, may be sure that he would be warmly welcomed if he put his find up for sale in any leading auction-room.

VIII. THE GEORGIAN ERA

IN the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1764 there is an account of Sheffield, written by a correspondent who signs himself E. G., and who was probably one Edward Goodwin. He may have been a Sheffield man—there was a family of that name living in the town about that time. Certainly he had a very good knowledge of Sheffield as it was in the early days of George III., and we can get no better idea of what it then looked like and of what its 20,000 inhabitants were then doing than by epitomizing his description.

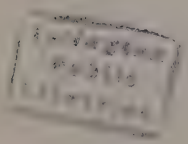
He begins by speaking of Sheffield as standing upon an eminence at the confluence of the rivers Don and Sheaf and as covering a tract of land measuring one mile from east to west and half a mile from north to south. Over the rivers there are two bridges, one, formerly dedicated to the Virgin and now called Lady Bridge, crossed the Don; the other crossed the Sheaf. Once, near both, there was a Castle; now there are but few vestiges of it. The town is managed by seven men who are called Regents—four of them are Churchmen, three are Dissenters. There is also a corporation calling itself The Cutlers' Company, the Master of which holds a Venison Feast on the first Thursday and Friday in September. The

Church of England possesses three places of worship—the Parish Church (which he calls Trinity Church), St. Paul's Chapel, and a Chapel attached to the Duke of Norfolk's Hospital. The income of the Vicar of Sheffield is derived from small tithes, Easter dues, and surplice fees; he estimates it as being worth no more than £120 a year. This vicar has three assistant ministers—they are elected by twelve capital burgesses; formerly they were paid £5 a year each; now the trustees are enabled to allow them £50 each per annum. Their duties are to assist the vicar *in sacramentis et sacramentalibus in parochiale ecclesia Sheffieldiensis et parochianis ibidem.* As to the Parish Church, it is very handsome; it has a grand spire, eight very tunable bells, an excellent clock, and a set of chimes, but it is very awkwardly seated. Three Earls of Shrewsbury are interred in it, so also are Judge Jessop, one of the judges of Chester, and his lady of Broomhall. In this church the sacrament is administered once a month; there are sermons twice every Sunday, and prayers are said on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on all Holy-Days at eleven and three. At St. Paul's Chapel, an elegant structure, handsomely pewed and galleried, the Sacrament is only administered on the fourth Sundays, but there are two sermons a week. At the Duke of Norfolk's Hospital Chapel prayers are performed every day; it is commodiously and uniformly pewed; its governor gets eighty pounds a year. There are eighteen men and as many women in this hospital; each has a house and garden; three loads of coal a year; two new shirts, or shifts; a blue gown or a loose coat every second year; a purple gown and badge every

seventh year, and half a crown a week. Also in the town is another hospital, founded by one Thomas Hollis, said to be a native of Sheffield, who became a London merchant; it is for the benefit of sixteen widows, the relicts of cutlers. They get £6 10s. a year each, generally paid quarterly; they are allowed two loads of coal a year; every second year they receive new brown gowns and petticoats. And in one corner of the parish churchyard there is a charity school wherein twenty poor boys are clothed, fed, and taught the English tongue, they are dressed in a blue uniform and bands. A little distance away is a Free Grammar School; its master gets £20 a year certain, and a handsome house; the usher receives £11. Near it is a writing school; its master receives a house and £16 per annum; he cannot be master unless he is a University man. As to other institutions of a religious and charitable nature, there is a workhouse which at the time of writing, harbours ninety poor people; there are three meeting-houses for Quakers, Presbyterians, and Independents; there is a Methodist tabernacle and there is a Popish Chapel.

Now we come to secular matters. There has recently been erected, by the joint subscription of thirty townsmen, a handsome assembly-room and a large commodious theatre. The theatre is big enough to hold 800 spectators; it is handsomely decorated and possesses some very good stage scenery. The assembly-room is notable for its elegant lustres of cut glass; there is a card-room attached to it. Also of recent erection is a white lead work, which is in a very flourishing state, as is also a silk-mill, wherein 100 people are

SHEFFIELD TOWN HALL



employed. As for the principal manufactures of Sheffield at this time, they are knives, forks, scissors, razors, edge tools of many descriptions, but of late years a new industry has developed in silver-plating cups, tankards, candlesticks, and the like. And there is a curious trade in making small objects out of kennel or channel coal—such things were first made by Joseph Hancock, now Master Cutler. The town's affairs are settled at the Town Hall, which stands at the south-east corner of the churchyard; there a Sessions is held every three years. There also is established a Court of Conscience for the recovery of Small Debts. There is a plentiful market held every Tuesday: butter, corn, fish, and cattle are brought to it in plenty—the necessaries of life are as cheap here as in any large town in England. As to wages and prices, a common labourer gets 1*s.* a day; joiners and carpenters 1*s.* 6*d.*; a journeyman cutler can earn 12*s.* a week; good workmen in other businesses can get as much as 20*s.* Wheat is 16*s.* a load of 3 bushels; butter, from 7*d.* to 9*d.* a pound; meat from 3*d.* to 4*d.* But in the year under mention, 1764, people are, for the moment, complaining that prices are too high. However, they then got ten corves of coal, making a good cart load and including carriage, for 5*s.* 2*d.*; small coal for a shilling less. But malt was selling at 40*s.* a quarter.

There is at this time, says our writer, a truly excellent supply of good water. It is not only supplied from public wells and private pumps, but from six large reservoirs at Crookesmoor, a mile from the town. In Sheffield itself there are sixty streets; the principal thoroughfares are called High Street, Norfolk Street, Burgess Street,

Far Gate, and West Bar. There are four principal inns—the Norfolk Arms, the King's Head, the George, and the Angel. From the George and the Angel a traveller can get post-chaises; from the Angel one departs for London, the London-Leeds coach making that its stopping-place. Communication with the Metropolis is now very good; the road being made turnpike from Leeds through Sheffield to Derby and the south, and a machine going out to, and coming in from London three times a week in summer and twice in winter; the passage money to London is 37*s.*; halfway, half as much. Then there is an excellent road to Chatsworth, Buxton, and Manchester, and there is shortly to be another from Attercliffe to Worksop.

Of the town in general at this period, the writer says that while the buildings are good they are apt to be very soon discoloured, because of the great quantity of smoke occasioned by the various manufactures. The town is, as a rule, a very healthy one; seldom any epidemical distemper prevailing except measles, whooping cough, or small-pox. There is, however, a good deal of small-pox, because the new-fangled notion of inoculation against that disease has not met with favour; in the year of writing there have been a great many deaths from this disease alone. But the town is a salubrious and pleasant one; there are, thinks the writer, a greater variety of agreeable walks and prospects on every side of it than are to be found in the same compass in any part of England. Also it has the great advantage that in it, as a community, very little of the spirit of party prevails; in it Christian moderation seems

to be highly esteemed amongst all its people; its three thousand families live together in one harmonious whole. This may be, he naïvely adds, because of their ignorance of politics, or because they are all necessarily connected with each other in business; but the fact remains, and must, he confidently asserts, "afford a rational pleasure to every benevolent observer."

Here, then, we have a good and faithful picture of Sheffield as it really was four years after George III. came to the throne. It was a little town of sixty streets, lying on the top of a rising ground, with a great deal of open space all round it; it had a few churches and chapels and places of amusement; trade was developing; new manufactures were springing up; its 20,000 inhabitants lived in amity. But we are, of course, struck with what it did and with what it did not possess. So far it had no other motive power than water; no canals, no railways. There were no libraries —for the people, at any rate—no museums, no art-galleries, no newspapers. Beyond those mentioned by the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* there were no schools; the Girls' Charity School was not founded until 1786; the Lancasterian (British) and National Schools not until some twenty-five or thirty years later. In spite of our writer's warm conclusions, Sheffield was an unenlightened, illiterate place when George III. was King of the American Colonies as well as of the United Kingdom. It had no representation in Parliament; the manners of its folk were crude and rough. And right up to 1827 there stood on Attercliffe Common the gibbet-post whereon now and then they hanged men—and left their bones

dangling and bleaching—for such small offences as stealing a shoulder of mutton.

But during the Georgian Era things were always changing for the better. In 1786 steam was introduced into the town, and the steam-driven grinding wheel began to supersede the old water-wheel. The working men began to unite. They had begun a form of union as far back as 1720, when some of them formed themselves into what they called a sick club—one of its rules was that the hours of labour should be limited to twelve *per diem*. By 1786 there were fifty-two of these societies, or clubs, in Sheffield; while they were ostensibly benefit societies they secretly sought to exert a good deal of influence in trade matters, and in 1814 four hundred employers of labour combined, in the "Sheffield Mercantile and Manufacturing Union," to resist their increasing demands. There was a good deal of friction between employers and employed in Sheffield up to 1824, when the relaxation of the laws against combination amongst working men gave freedom to the unions and societies. There was trouble, too, in the town in 1791, over the Enclosures Acts which provided for the taking in of the common lands of Upper and Nether Hallam: the military were called out; the prison was attacked and prisoners set free; Broomhall, then the residence of the vicar, who was also a magistrate, was raided and its furniture and library burnt—for a share in this a man named Bennett was hanged at York. In spite of these disturbances and of bad feeling between masters and men, progress was made. In 1797 the Royal Infirmary was opened—its first stone had been laid in November, 1793, and the town ringers had

£2 4s. gratuity for celebrating the occasion with a joyful peal. In 1801 the first census was taken—there was then a population of 45,755; in 1811 it had increased to 52,231; in 1821, to 65,275; in 1831, to 91,692; in 1841, it was 110,891. One reason of this great expansion of the town was that in 1802 the Duke of Norfolk as Lord of the Manor obtained power to retain a good deal of his land for building purposes. From that date onward the Minute Book of the Town Trustees contains various records of improvements. There is a new Town Hall. There are provisions about the prevention of fire. Sanitation and lighting begin to be attended to. Purveyors of food begin to be put under regulations—several men are prosecuted for offering bad meat for sale. Improvement Acts are obtained; subscriptions of public money are given to schools; money is also voted to the turnpikes; the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor gets thirty guineas. In 1830, one minute orders that Mr. Ward, as Town Collector, shall affix the Town Seal to two petitions to Parliament—one asks the House of Commons to forbid the climbing of chimneys by boys in the employment of sweeps; the other prays that Sheffield shall be enfranchised.

And in 1832 Sheffield, for the first time in its history, is represented in Parliament. Like Leeds, like Manchester, like Birmingham, it had had no direct representation even when twenty years previously its population had passed the 50,000 line. Its few enfranchised townsmen had been obliged, like the moor-men of Stainmore, and the farmers of Holderness, to travel all the way to York when they recorded their votes as county

electors. Of recent years it had clamoured for representation; several minutes of the Town Trust, in addition to that just mentioned, refer to this desire. The first Reform Act gave Sheffield two seats in Parliament; fifty-three years later it was awarded five.

But the great event of the later Georgian Era in Sheffield was the coming of the railways. Communication with the outer world had been steadily widening ever since the days of the first turnpike roads and the navigation improvement of the river Don. In 1819 the Sheffield Canal had been opened; two years later the Ashopton Road increased the facilities of exit and ingress. In March, 1830, the Town Trustees signed a petition in favour of making a railway from Manchester to Whaley Bridge, "as being likely at some future period to be of importance to the Town of Sheffield by opening a communication with the mineral district of Derbyshire and the Port of Liverpool." In 1838 the first railway communication was established, and the line opened between Sheffield and Rotherham; two years later the Midland line was opened between Masborough and Derby. But it is curious that Sheffield's first railway developments were of a strictly limited nature. George Stephenson, who was responsible for most of what we now know as the Midland system, was strangely neglectful of the great town which in 1841 had over a hundred thousand inhabitants. Instead of bringing his main line through Sheffield, he insisted on carrying it along the valley of the Rother—hence the line, as he made it, ran straight from Chesterfield to Masborough, and was only connected to Sheffield by a branch. It was some

years before Sheffield became directly connected with London in one direction and Edinburgh in another, with Liverpool in the west and Grimsby in the east, but nowadays its railway facilities are equal to those of any great industrial city in England.

IX. STEEL

IRON and steel are more familiar to us of this age than any other matters—except wood and stone. But how many people know what iron is?—or what steel is? A considerable percentage of people who are riding on steel rails or in steel-clad ships would be hard put to it if asked to define steel, and a good many others who make constant use of iron have no idea whence it comes. Therefore, before saying anything about the modern production of steel in Sheffield it may be well to remark, briefly, that iron is a metallic chemical element, extracted by heat from certain ores called magnetite, hæmatite, limonite, siderite, and pyrites, and produced as cast or wrought iron; and that steel, strictly defined, is merely iron, nearly pure, or alloyed with some other elements, which has been cast in a fluid condition and is capable of being worked by hammering, pressing, rolling, drawing, or stamping, after heating, into marketable sizes.

Before Benjamin Huntsman's day, steel was manufactured in only one way—the oldest and most primitive known. The iron ore was smelted and fashioned into thin bars which were then heated and hammered, reheated and rehammered. This process is still in use for a certain

Public

sort of steel. Huntsman's process—the crucible process—we have already had explained. But since Huntsman's time other processes have sprung into use in Sheffield—the Bessemer process, first explained by its inventor, Sir Henry Bessemer, in a paper which he read to the British Association in 1856, and subsequently improved by the hardening process invented by Robert Mushet; and the Siemens-Martin process which was evolved by Sir William Siemens and Messrs. Martin about 1868–9. Briefly described, the Bessemer is a basic process; the Siemens-Martin an acid process. But in addition there has been a vast improvement in the furnaces used in one or other of these processes. The Thomas-Gilchrist furnace, taking its name from its two inventors, was patented in 1878. Then there are three other sorts of furnace intended to assist in the further refining of Siemens-Martin or Bessemer steel—Induction, Arc Resistance, and Arc Furnaces: the Kjellin furnace is a type of the first; the Hérault of the second; the Stassaus of the third. Altogether, steel production has undergone a wonderful change since Huntsman made his first successful experiments.

The great name associated with the modern steel trade of Sheffield is that of Sir Henry Bessemer —1813–1898. He was not a Sheffield man, for he was born in Hertfordshire, and only became connected with Sheffield by more or less of an accident. He was a born inventor: his father had been an inventor before him. Henry Bessemer went to London while still little more than a boy; before he was twenty he had invented a curiously clever method of taking copies on cardboard from antique and modern basso-relievos; a short time afterwards

he devised a method of making Government stamps which, if it had been adopted, could have saved the country a vast amount of money. In a certain degree his method was adopted, but he never received one penny of reward and was nearly ruined by the refusal of the authorities to pay him for his time and labour. But this was not the only instance of neglect on the part of the Government. At the time of the Crimean War he invented a smooth bore gun which our authorities ignored and the French were quick to welcome. He was some time in Paris over this business; when he returned he gave his attention to iron and steel, and in August, 1856, he read to the British Association his famous paper on "The Manufacture of Malleable Iron and Steel without Fuel." The great men of the iron trade hastened to take out licences for the use of his method; within a month he had sold licences to the amount of £27,000; he subsequently bought them back for £31,500 But the first experiments under his system failed, and a revulsion of feeling took place. Bessemer persevered—a few months later he produced steel worth £60 a ton from charcoal pig-iron which had only cost £7 a ton, and proved its value by experiments at Manchester. Even then he failed to persuade a single one of the great Sheffield firms to recognize the value of his system, and he therefore set up works of his own in the town, determined to cut out the Sheffield men in their own market. Very soon he was producing better steel and selling it at as much as £15 per ton under the current prices. One result of the first disaffection in Sheffield was that the town lost its monopoly of the steel trade, for Bessemer's system was

adopted in other countries, notably in France and Sweden. Fourteen years after he settled in Sheffield his works were sold for twenty-four times the whole capital of the firm, having already returned fifty-seven fold. In addition to the coldness of the Sheffield manufacturers, Bessemer was again treated with neglect by the Government in the matter of supplying steel for big firms. But John Brown of Sheffield believed in him, and an astute Lancashire man, Platt of Oldham, in 1862 offered him £50,000, cash down, for a fifth part of his patents. Bessemer took the offer, and Platt realized a fortune: in 1877 750,000 tons of Bessemer steel were manufactured; by 1880 the world manufacture under the process was worth £20,000,000 a year. Long before this the inventor had begun to receive honours. In 1859 the Institution of Civil Engineers awarded him the Telford Medal; ten years later he became President of the Iron and Steel Institute; honours were freely showered on him from abroad: eventually our own authorities, with strange tardiness, bestowed on him a knighthood—a miserable reward for the man whose steel was being used for British ships and whose invention had saved British railways hundreds of millions. However, one is comforted by the knowledge that Bessemer himself had by this time become a millionaire.

Sir William Siemens, whose steel, invented in company with the Martins, has to a considerable extent superseded Bessemer's, was in origin a German, but from Hanover. He became naturalized in England, and in due course so eminently English that there is a memorial window to him in Westminster Abbey. He was an inventor of a

far wider scope than Bessemer : well over a hundred English patents stand to his credit. They refer chiefly to heat and electricity. He was the first man to insulate telegraphic wire by a guttapercha sheathing ; his firm, Siemens Brothers, constructed the first electric tramway—that at Portrush, 1883—he himself was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1862, and twenty years later he was President of the British Association. Born in 1823, he died in 1883 ; his Life, by Dr. William Pole, was published in 1888.

While such men as Bessemer, Mushet, Siemens were showing manufacturers how to make better and finer steel, there was coming to the front in Sheffield a man whose destiny it was to show his fellow-merchants of the town how to use it. He was John Brown—one of the greatest men Sheffield has ever produced, one of the really great leaders of English industry. He had no advantages in his first start-out in life. Born in 1816, when Sheffield was still an insignificant place, he was the son of an ordinary working man, a slater by trade. Such education as he ever had he got in a school kept in a garret—one of his fellow-pupils was a child, Margaret Schofield, whom he afterwards married. His father intended him for the linen-draper's counter, but the boy even at that stage announced his intention of becoming a big man in the trade of the town. Apprenticed to a steel firm, his wages were six shillings a week ; when his apprenticeship was over, his father handed him a sovereign and a new suit of clothes and bade him look to himself. He must have had great promise in him even then, for the firm in which he had been apprenticed offered him a partnership ;

SIR JOHN BROWN
1816-1896
From a bust by E. W. Wyon

p. 92

since he had no money wherewith to take it up, they found him means to take up their factoring business, and for a time he travelled the country selling Sheffield goods. In 1844 he started a small foundry in Orchard Street. He did well and moved to bigger premises in Furnival Street; here he made files, railway springs, and invented a conical spring buffer which was soon in use on the railways. And in January, 1856—the same year in which Henry Bessemer announced his discovery—he opened his soon-to-be-world-famous Atlas Works, in Brightside.

At this time most of the iron used in Sheffield came from Sweden and Russia, and the Sheffield manufacturers thought little of English ores. But John Brown had faith in them, and ere long he was producing goods that were so eagerly demanded that he was perpetually adding to the acreage of his works, building new furnaces, and extending his operations. Also, almost alone amongst the Sheffield men, he had faith in Bessemer, and he began to use Bessemer steel for making rails for the railroads which were extending all over the world. By 1859 he had an enormous business in this direction, a year later he turned his attention to another matter of significant importance. Being on a holiday at Toulon, he happened to see a French armoured ship, and inspecting her plates with the eye of an expert, noticed that they were made by hammering. He hurried home, erected a rolling mill, and very soon produced rolled armour plates for ships which successfully resisted a severe test to which they were subjected in 1862. Then began the contest between him and Whitworth, the great maker of heavy guns—one striving for his projectiles, the other for his resisting power

to them. Whitworth boasted that whatever armour was made, he would invent a gun that could pierce it; Brown went on strengthening his plates so that no gun should break through. He was overwhelmed with offers of contracts from foreign Governments at this time, but he served his own nation first, and by 1867 his plates were round three-fourths of the ships in the British Navy.

The story of how John Brown's business spread from its first beginnings in 1856 reads like a romance. In 1864 it was converted into a limited liability company with a capital of £1,000,000; the principal partners with the founder were William Bragge and J. D. Ellis. Ellis was managing-director over a long period. How the business extended may be gathered from a few statistics. From an early period the firm provided itself with iron ore and coal from its own mines. It acquired interests in kindred firms, such as Thomas Fiske & Sons at Sheffield, Harland & Wolff at Belfast, and the Coventry Ordnance Works. It took over a great shipbuilding yard at Clydebank, in Scotland—the acreage of this is nearly twice as large as that of the works at Sheffield—and they cover forty acres. The firm can build, fit, and arm a battleship from stem to stern, and its annual turnover runs into many millions. John Brown himself, who received the honours of knighthood about the time that his plates became so famous, was, of course, a very rich man, and, like most Yorkshiremen of his type, he was generous in giving of his riches to the folk amongst whom he had risen from comparative poverty to great affluence. He had always been a model employer —it was said of him, too, that he was the hardest

working man on his own premises. He planned the building, and even the architecture of his own works; he designed all his own machinery and supervised its making. Busily employed as he always was in his own affairs, he found time for the town's business. He was in his time councillor, magistrate, mayor; Chairman of the School Board; a Town Trustee; a Church Burgess; twice he was Master Cutler. When he died in 1896 Sheffield lost a fine specimen of the hard-working, honest, unassuming Englishman who, unaided save by his own powers, is the architect of his own fortunes.

The romance which clings around a firm like that of Brown is found repeated more than once in the modern history of Sheffield. The man who wanders about the industrial quarters of the great steel centre sees names which are famous all the world over. Sometimes they are names which have been associated with the town for a long time, such as Jessops, of Brightside, founded as far back as 1774; sometimes they are of modern origin, like Hadfields, started a hundred years later, whose shells, fired from the Japanese men-of-war under Admiral Togo, blew the Russian fleet to pieces in the Straits of Tsushima, and whose head, Sir Robert Hadfield, is well known as the inventor of manganese steel. Some of these firms carry on their operations in other places than Sheffield; these operations are of a magnitude which, to the outsider, seems colossal, so colossal that one is lost in admiration and wonder of the brains which conceived them. Vickers, Limited, for example, while they employ six thousand men at Sheffield, where their works cover seventy-three

acres, employ (these are pre-war figures) twice that number at Barrow, where their shipbuilding yards are spread over 100 acres; also, they have motor-car works at Birmingham, ammunition works at Dartford, and they make quick-firing guns at Erith. All their steel-making, however, is done at Sheffield. They, like Browns, can turn out a battleship from start to finish—so can Cammells. Their work, in conjunction with their development of Cammell, Laird & Company, is also spread about —shipyards at Birkenhead; collieries at Barnsley; iron-mines in Cumberland; furnaces at Workington; railway plant at Penistone; and in addition to these huge undertakings they still keep up their original old file trade in Furnival Street and turn out millions of files every year. And the mention of files makes one reflect on the variety of articles which steel-producing Sheffield sends out to the world. Of late years a higher class of steel has enabled manufacturers to put on the market a much greater variety of articles—the range is now from armour plates, ordnance, rails, axles, machine parts, frames, drills, planes, saws, tools, axes, hatchets, skewers, scissors, to the most delicate things used in medical operations. Some idea of the scale of operations in these things may be gathered from the fact that as many as ten different processes are required in making one ordinary file, and that in the latest list of goods specified by the Cutlers' Company there are no less than seventy different sorts of files set down. For a time Sheffield lost a good deal of its once proud pre-eminence as the chief steel producing centre in the world; of late it has regained it, and there is every prospect that in years to come its trade

will be greater and more important than ever. Between the Sheffield of the old "flat back" makes, and the Sheffield of to-day there is as great a difference as between the Sheffield of Thomas de Furnival and the Sheffield of 1831; and the first has arisen, comparatively speaking, in our own times.

X. THE MODERN BOROUGH

TO people who have made some study of the curiosities of local government in England, nothing is much more curious than the fact that while small towns—to give a random example—like Hedon and Ripon had possessed a Mayor and Corporation for many centuries, such great and rising centres as Sheffield and Bradford had no central borough authority and no magistrates of their own for many years after they had secured representation in Parliament. There is, of course, an explanation of this apparent anomaly in the fact that when towns like Hedon and Pontefract and Richmond got their charters of incorporation they were important places, while towns like Sheffield and Bradford were mere villages, obscure and of little value. But there may be another in the fact that the folk of these rising towns were not particularly ready to claim their undoubted rights. In the minute book of the Sheffield Town Trustees, under date February 28, 1838, there is a curious and illustrative entry. A resolution was moved and seconded to the effect that "This Trust fully approves of the application of the Town of Sheffield for a Charter of Incorporation, as the means not only to obtain a system of municipal government, but also greater facilities in the direction

and regulation of its internal concerns, and that this Trust will as far as it has legal power support such application in the way best adapted to ensure its success." There were eleven Trustees present, but the majority was evidently not disposed to see Sheffield made into a Borough. An amendment was proposed and duly seconded to the effect that "This Trust remains neuter"—and it was carried. Nevertheless, the movement in favour of incorporation progressed, and in 1843 a charter was granted, and Sheffield assumed its place amongst English boroughs and had a Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors. Five years later it got a bench of Magistrates of its own—up to then delinquents had been brought before the County magnates, assembled in Petty or Quarter Sessions.

Whatever it may have been that impelled the Town Trustees to adopt a neutral policy as regards the incorporation of Sheffield, they showed no sign of desire for neutrality when negotiations arose between the townsfolk and the postal authorities in respect of new and improved facilities. There is an entry in the minutes of 1838 which records the passing of a resolution "That the seal of this Trust be affixed to the Petition (now read and altered) to the Postmaster-General accelerating the arrival of the Leeds and Birmingham mails in Sheffield." Another, of the following year, refers to an instruction "that Mr. Ellison and Mr. William Vickers be requested to wait on Mr. Maberley on the subject of expediting the London mail to Sheffield, and to make the requisite inquiries as to what is now doing in that respect, and to forward the matter as much as possible." A resolution of March 1, 1844, announces that "This

Trust will co-operate with the merchants and manufacturers of the Town towards the expense of providing a new Post Office, the plans thereof being first approved of by the Trustees." It was in this year, 1844, that Sheffield began to have a daily post to London—five years previously the Trust had petitioned the House of Lords, through Earl Fitzwilliam, in favour of Rowland Hill's scheme of penny postage.

Now that Sheffield had become an incorporated town, various much-needed reforms and improvements came to the front. One of the first things to be done by the new authority was to deal with the water supply. The writer of the *Gentleman's Magazine* account of Sheffield in 1764, had no fault to find with that, but by the time the town got its charter the population had increased from 20,000 to well over 100,000, and its water supply had become insufficient. In 1830 a private company made reservoirs at Crookes and at Redmires, having previously bought out—for £45,000—certain former water-suppliers who owned some small reservoirs known as the White House Dams. But by 1845 further supplies were needed, and two years later a reservoir, nearly thirty acres in extent, was made at Lower Redmires, while another, of fifty-six acres, was made at Upper Redmires in 1853. But the population was increasing more and more rapidly, and in 1854 Parliamentary sanction was obtained for constructing four more reservoirs—one in the valley of the Loxley, another in the bed of the Agden, and two more in Bradfield Dale. At one of these, the lower or Dale Dike reservoir in Bradfield Dale, occurred on March 11, 1864, a catastrophe which was attended by

terrible results. This reservoir, which was situated about six miles from Sheffield, 700 feet above sea-level, covered nearly eighty acres of ground and had a capacity of 700 millions of gallons, equal in weight to 3,000,000 tons. At midnight, on the date just mentioned, the great dam collapsed, and the flood of water, moving at the rate of a mile a minute, rushed down on Sheffield. Houses, factories, bridges, whole streets were swept away. Two hundred and forty people were drowned—many of them in their beds. The Water Company paid nearly £300,000 in compensation. Twenty thousand people applied for relief. A relief fund, speedily opened for their benefit, produced £50,000 in a few weeks. Charles Reade graphically described this flood in his novel, "Put Yourself in His Place"; but there are men and women living in Sheffield and its vicinity to-day who need no description, for they saw the horrors of it with their own eyes. Since that time many other reservoirs have been made for the use of Sheffield; its reservoirs now have a drainage area of 40,000 acres, and many of them lie amongst the beautiful scenery of the Derbyshire border, and we may be sure that whoever had a share in making them thought long and carefully over the causes which led to what Sheffield people still talk of as the Damflask Disaster.

In "Put Yourself in His Place" Charles Reade dealt with yet another episode of Sheffield history which occurred about this time. Ever since 1824 Sheffield had been the leading town in England in the movement towards Trade-Unionism—a perfectly legitimate and proper movement, ultimately destined to achieve much good. Unfortunately

there were men in the town who strove to further their ends and aims by violence. Terrorism was used as a weapon against masters who became unpopular, and against men who either refused to join the various newly formed societies, or, having joined, were regarded with suspicion. Most of the outrages which actively began about 1840 and were continued for over twenty years came from the grinders. They had two chief methods—one, which became world-famous by its name of *rattening*, was to steal the tools of men who would not join the societies; the other was to blow up the wheels of unpopular men with gunpowder charges. In the 'forties these outrages became particularly bad, and now and then prosecutions took place and men were severely punished. Still the offences went on, and in 1854 certain non-unionists were shot; some years later houses were blown up. The extraordinary thing was that no effort, however strenuous, could detect the origin of these crimes. The trades-union officials disclaimed all knowledge and officially reprehended them. By 1867 matters had grown so serious that the Government stepped in, and by passing an Act of Parliament which instituted a special Commission of Inquiry, with power to grant free pardon to all evil-doers who revealed the truth, a full explanation was arrived at. Two saw-grinders came forward and admitted that they had been guilty of murder by shooting, of frequent rattening offences, and of using explosives, and that they had been instigated to the commission of these crimes and paid for their work by one William Broadhead, secretary of the Saw-Grinders' Union, whose money, unknown to the other officials, he had used for these

nefarious purposes. The matter was thus cleared; the unions, as bodies, acquitted of complicity; and Broadhead's guilt fully established. One of the extraordinary features of the case was that Broadhead, who appears to have been a peculiarly gifted hypocrite, had for years publicly denounced these outrages, and on one occasion had actually subscribed £5 towards the detection of the criminal who was responsible, and who, of course, was himself.

A certain newspaper editor made himself famous in connection with the tracking-down of William Broadhead. He was William Christopher Leng, a Hull man who, after beginning life as a chemist, turned to journalism, as did also his brother, John Leng. Each attained considerable distinction in their profession; each received the honour of knighthood. John Leng went to Dundee and became one of the best known of Scottish newspaper proprietors and editors; William Christopher Leng came to Sheffield, and in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* established the first penny daily newspaper published in England. During the time of the Sheffield outrages he took up a singularly bold and unflinching attitude and persevered in it at considerable personal risk and in spite of constant threatenings: Charles Reade introduced him into "Put Yourself in His Place" in the character of *Mr. Holdfast*. When the inquiry which resulted from the Parliamentary action had been brought to a conclusion, Leng was presented with a handsome monetary testimonial by his Sheffield admirers, and his portrait was painted and hung in a place of honour in the Town Hall. He was a great force in Sheffield during the whole of his

career, and his paper still remains the leading Sheffield journal. But Sheffield has always, in modern times, been well off for its own papers. While the *Telegraph* has represented the Conservative interest, the *Independent*, owned and edited by the Leader family, has worthily championed the opposite cause: both papers are of the highest rank amongst provincial dailies.

Between newspapers and education there is a much closer link than most people imagine, though the fact is well enough known to all journalists who love and venerate their profession. A link between Sheffield journalism and Sheffield elementary education is found in the person of John F. Moss, who, after a career as chief reporter on the staff of the *Telegraph*, became Clerk to the Sheffield School Board when it was first instituted in 1870, and remained its trusted and responsible adviser for nearly forty years. Previous to 1870 and the passing of the late W. E. Forster's famous Elementary Education Act, school accommodation in Sheffield had been inadequate, though the town had certainly not been as much neglected in this respect as many other Yorkshire towns were. In addition to the Charity, the British, and the National Schools, the Roman Catholic and Wesleyan Methodist bodies had schools of their own, and, as regards secondary education, the Grammar School had been put on a new footing in 1825, the Collegiate School built in 1836, and Wesley College in 1838. But the first School Board—of which Sir John Brown was Chairman—provided accommodation for 12,000 more children, and successive Boards did valuable work until their authority ceased with the new Education Act of

1902. Since that year elementary and secondary education in Sheffield, under the wise and provident direction of the Sheffield Education Committee, has so widened and prospered that there is no town in England which excels it in educational advantages. Sheffield spends at least £300,000 a year on the education of its children, and of that amount at least one-half comes out of its own rates.

1879 saw the birth of another educational movement in Sheffield which has developed in striking fashion during the last twenty years. In that year was founded and opened Firth College. It owed its inception to a Sheffield man, Mark Firth, the son of a working man and himself a working man in the early stages of his remarkable career. Able, with his father and brothers, to begin business as steel-makers, the firm which they established, at the Norfolk Works, prospered so exceedingly well that in a few years it was making steel for the ordnance of several navies and exporting great quantities of steel and castings to the United States. Mark Firth, as eventual head of this firm, accumulated considerable wealth, and his native town shared in it through his beneficence. He built Firth College and gave it a beginning towards what we shall presently see it become; he founded and endowed thirty-six almshouses; he presented his townsmen with the Park which is named after him; he was a generous giver to the local funds and charities.

During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century the folk of Sheffield began to acquire many advantages in addition to better railway accommodation, better water-supply, better opportunities of education: it began to get books,

pictures, museums, and well-appointed open spaces. The first Free Library was opened in 1856, but it was not until the passing of the Free Libraries Act some years later that the full benefit of books came to the rapidly growing population. Nowadays Sheffield is particularly well off in the matter of books—there are some 180,000 volumes in its Free Libraries, which are spread all over the city, while the libraries of the University and the Literary and Philosophical Society each contain over 30,000. In 1887 the Mappin Art Gallery was opened; it owed its origin to John Newton Mappin, who left funds for the building and a large collection of fine pictures as a nucleus; these were supplemented later by Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin. Twelve years before this John Ruskin had shown his great interest in the Sheffield working men by presenting to them a museum of art treasures which, first housed in the Rivelin Valley, was more satisfactorily established in Meersbrook Park in 1890. Here the lover of architectural drawings, mineralogy, illuminated manuscripts and engravings can revel to his heart's content—always feeling that Ruskin's taste and discrimination are guiding him. While these institutions were being set up for their benefit, Sheffield people were also being presented with better opportunities for breathing the fresh air of open spaces. The Corporation bought land for parks and recreation grounds; private donors supplemented their efforts. Now Sheffield possesses hundreds of acres of parks, readily accessible to the folk who cannot easily get out to the moorlands which still, happily, adjoin the great city on most sides. Such provision was necessary; the population had increased

surprisingly. Just over a hundred thousand when Sheffield was made a borough in 1843, it was two hundred and forty thousand thirty years later; in 1901, when it had been of city rank for eight years, it was four times as great as it was sixty years before.

XI. CITY AND BISHOPRIC

SHEFFIELD was made a city in 1893. However slow the progress of the growing towns of Yorkshire was towards the establishing of municipal rights and liberties in the pre-Reform days, it was speedy enough at the end of the nineteenth century in respect of the assertion of claims to rank and dignity. Previous to 1830 Leeds, Sheffield, and Bradford, in spite of their growing populations, had ranked, in mere matter of precedence, far below many an incorporated town which numbered its people only by hundreds. For sixty years they figured as the newest of boroughs—mushroom growths, in the eyes of gray and hoary old places like Ripon, Beverley and Hedon. But in the early 'nineties the authorities of these then great West Riding towns felt themselves of such importance as to warrant them in demanding civic status, and Leeds and Sheffield were elevated to the rank of London and York in 1893, while Bradford was similarly honoured four years later. Certain Yorkshire folk were anything but pleased by the modern innovations; they seemed to detract from the stateliness and grandeur which still clings to the capital of the county. But the Time-Spirit respects nothing, and now my Lord Mayor of York finds his dignity

shared in by the chief magistrates of the three cities which grew while York slept.

One of the first great developments which took place after Sheffield became a city was in the improvement of the streets and the extension and bettering of the tramway system. People—especially outsiders—who remember the principal streets and thoroughfares of Sheffield as they were thirty years ago will cherish recollections of a great deal of dirt, discomfort, narrowness, and bad paving. In addition to these things, Sheffield was then a bad place to get about in. It had thrown itself out in many directions towards the hills and into the valleys; the man who came to its centre stations, intending to reach some place of business in the outlying suburbs, found half his day gone before he reached his destination. When one bears in mind that modern Sheffield embraces well over four hundred miles of streets, one realizes that a first-rate service of interior communication is a necessity to its people. It is a somewhat curious fact that the first notion of tramways in the district originated a good hundred years before tramways made any considerable appearance in Sheffield itself. In 1774, one John Curr, mineral agent to the Duke of Norfolk, who had probably heard of, perhaps seen, the rails laid down at the Middleton Colliery, near Leeds, caused to be laid a set of wooden rails from the Duke's collieries to the centre of the town; this was subsequently replaced by rails, or plates of cast iron. But modern tramways did not come into use in Sheffield until after 1870, when their value had already been proved at Birkenhead and Liverpool, and they were of no great advantage in Sheffield until

the new civic authorities acquired them in 1896. The present splendid service is due to two causes —the constant and watchful attention of Sir William Clegg, who was Chairman of the Tramways Committee for several years, and the introduction of electricity as motive-power. The modern service is now as near perfection as seems possible, and the statistics relating to it are surprising. It carries at least 100,000,000 passengers a year. It takes in fares nearly £500,000. It yields a big profit to the rates. Its wages bill is over £3000 a week. It has laid out in capital £1,500,000. Alderman Derry, in the invaluable little book published a few years ago under the auspices of the Sheffield Education Committee, estimates that every man, woman, and child in Sheffield takes a tramway ride two hundred times a year—which is, of course, a pleasing way of striking an average and is not meant to be too literal. But it is quite true that if a Sheffield man wants to go anywhere in or around his great spreading city he has no need to walk to his desired haven.

Two great events marked the year 1897—the year in which was celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the late Queen Victoria. To Sheffield came the Queen herself—one of the last public appearances of her long and historic reign —to open the new Town Hall. The old Town Hall, which was really little more than a police station, had become utterly inadequate to the necessities of a place which had assumed such vast proportions. The Cutlers' Company had long since provided itself with a fine modern house; now it was time that the City Fathers were accommodated in accordance with their supplemented dignity.

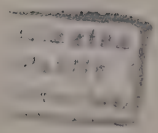
The edifice which Queen Victoria declared open in the presence of the chief notabilities of the city and county has been pronounced too small already ; but it is a fine building architecturally—like its sister hall of Bradford it would have gained much in effect if its creators had somehow contrived to elevate it by placing it on a platform such as that which forms the base of St. George's Hall at Liverpool. Perhaps more really important to the future well-being of the city was the other event of the year, a much less showy one : the transformation of Frith College into University College. In 1886 a Technical School for Sheffield had been established in the old Grammar School buildings, as a branch of Frith College ; in 1897 this and the other departments of Frith College were combined as University College, largely through the effort and instrumentality of Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin, always a foremost supporter of education and advancement in the town with which his world-famous firm had long been associated.

In 1898 and 1899 two further developments of modern Sheffield took place—each an example of what the authorities of our great and wealthy cities can do, and each remarkable as showing how the old days were gone altogether. One was the acquiring of the Electric Light and Power Department by the city ; the other the buying up of the Duke of Norfolk's market rights as Lord of the Manor. The lighting of a great city is, of course, a most important business ; to carry it out fully, according to the latest modern ideas, is no easy task. There had been no lighting of any streets in Sheffield previous to 1734 : in that year the Burgesses began to hang oil lamps in the

principal thoroughfares. The cost of this was ridiculously small at first—it is worth while to know what it was, considering what is now spent on illumination: certain entries in the Burgery Accounts show us, "December 4th, 1734—Paid Mrs. Parkin for the Lamps £3 15*s.* 11*d.* . . . Mr. Thomas Buck for Oil 16*s.* 1*d.*" There are several entries in the accounts of the following year—the sum total comes to only a few pounds. Nearly a hundred years later—in 1818—the cost of lighting had risen to £453, but by that time gas had begun to be used. That year saw the establishment of the Sheffield Gas Company, which in time came to be one of the wealthiest bodies of its sort in the country. When the city authorities took over the electric lighting and supply business of a privately owned company in 1898–9 it had to face competition from the Sheffield Gas Company, which for eighty years had been supplying consumers at unusually low rates. But the electrical business of the city now shows a good profit, and no one doubts that electricity, whether as an illuminant or as motive-power, has the keys of the future. It was a wise step to acquire these rights as a civic property, an equally wise step to buy up the ancient market rights, which were acquired at a cost of £526,000. At first there was a loss on these market rights, but of late years a certain amount of profit has been made, and this transaction, again, was certainly a wise one in the interest of future inhabitants.

In 1901 Sheffield provided a title for a Suffragan Bishop. For a hundred years the ancient Archdiocese of York had been growing unwieldy. The see of Ripon had been established in 1836; that

SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL



of Wakefield in 1888. Even then Suffragan Bishops became a necessity—Ripon came to possess two, taking their titles from Knaresborough and Richmond; York had two, entitled Beverley and Hull. But the southern parts of the Archdiocese were becoming more and more thickly populated; new churches were being built; Church matters required increased attention, and in 1901 the Rev. J. N. Quirk, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster, was consecrated Bishop-Suffragan of Sheffield. In the town itself Church life had, of course, spread largely with the increase of population—so, too, had the affairs of the various Dissenting communities. According to formal statistics there were in 1915 in Sheffield 46 Anglican and 8 Roman Catholic churches; over 40 Wesleyan Methodist chapels; 70 chapels of other Methodist bodies, 35 chapels belonging to Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents; numerous Salvation Army centres; 3 Unitarian chapels; a meeting-house of the Society of Friends, and a Jewish synagogue. It is the proud boast of Sheffield folk that all these heterogeneous elements mix together in an unusually good state of Christian charity—let us sincerely hope it is not from indifference.

1905 witnessed the foundation of Sheffield University, inaugurated in person by His Majesty the late King Edward VII. For some years the movement in favour of establishing universities in Yorkshire had been steadily gaining support, and in 1904 the old Yorkshire College at Leeds, which for a time had been an integral part of the Victoria University, had become transformed into Leeds University. In University College at Sheffield there was already the nucleus of a University

with three departments, Arts, Medicine, Technology. To the last-named the city authorities were already contributing generously, in company with various private benefactors. When the movement for establishing a separate University in Sheffield came to a definite proposal, the City Council resolved to endow it permanently with a penny rate, and it is extraordinary what a penny on the rates in so rich a community as Sheffield had become can do. In this way, and otherwise aided by public and private subscriptions and donations, a proper endowment fund was formed, a Royal Charter obtained, and the University established, under the rule of a University Council whose first chairman was Sir Henry Stephenson. Now that thirteen years have passed since its inception, one may be permitted to consider briefly the work which Sheffield University is doing. Its faculty of Arts has chairs in Greek, Latin, German, French, Mathematics, English, History, Economics, Philosophy, and Education. The faculty of Science deals with Physics, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology, Geography, and Physiology. There are also faculties of Medicine, Applied Science, and Law. It is in technical matters that the most distinctive feature of the University's teaching lies—the departments devoted to Metallurgy, Mining, Engineering, and Applied Chemistry are unrivalled in this country for equipment and thoroughness. Famous men have directed the work of the University—men like Dr. W. M. Hicks, its first Vice-Chancellor; Dr. J. O. Arnold, an expert on Metallurgy of world-wide fame; and Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, who resigned the Vice-Chancellorship to become Minister

of Education. Until his death the Chancellorship was filled by the late Duke of Norfolk, who has been succeeded by the Marquess of Crewe.

In the year following the establishment of the University another important educational amalgamation was effected in Sheffield and associated with the name of King Edward VII. There were three important secondary schools in Sheffield—the Royal Grammar School, founded by Thomas Smith, of Crowland, in the Fens, in 1604, and patronized by James I. inasmuch as he granted Letters Patent to it; the Collegiate School, connected with the Church of England; and Wesley College, which was affiliated to London University. In 1906 these three were combined into a modern school and housed in the fine building of Wesley College, henceforth to be known as King Edward VII.'s Grammar School. This school, like the others in the city, is under the control of the Sheffield Education Committee, which consists of a certain number of members of the City Council working with a slightly smaller number of co-opted members chosen from men of experience in educational matters. If results are anything to go by, Sheffield is justified in boasting that this is the best educational authority in the country.

The census of 1911 revealed the fact that Sheffield had become the largest city in Yorkshire—the ascertained population was then 455,817, an increase of well over 50,000 since the census of 1901. And not only had Sheffield grown: the whole of south Yorkshire was growing in population at a surprising rate. Rotherham and Barnsley had each passed the 50,000 mark; the opening up of new industries all around these

towns had brought numbers of workers into their midst; old-world villages were finding themselves surrounded by miles upon miles of new red-brick streets. Round about Doncaster, between 1903 and 1913, the whole face of the country was changed by the opening out and development of a new coal-field. In the presence of this vastly-increased multitude the need for the creation of a new Yorkshire bishopric became pressing. A new see was formed out of the south-east corner of the county, and in May, 1914, the Right Reverend Leonard Hedley Burrows, D.D., until then Bishop-Suffragan of Lewes, was duly enthroned in his cathedral as first Bishop of Sheffield.

So the city had come a long way and progressed in marvellous fashion since the old British inhabitants made their camps on the moors above—many a far year before even the Romans came spying out the first stretches of the mysterious North Country. It is wonderful to think, if one looks down on Sheffield from any of its neighbouring heights, what a story of human endurance, ingenuity, and perseverance its very presence, its smoke, its flame, its far-stretching streets, its vast workshops have to tell. It is just as difficult to believe that only one hundred years ago it was, comparatively, small, obscure, unknown, cut off from the world. But there is a secret in the significance of the city coat-of-arms. The shield is supported by two sturdy figures—one, holding a pair of shears, stands before an anvil; the other leans upon a mighty hammer. Anvil and hammer, with patient human labour attendant, have made Sheffield, and those who chose her coat-of-arms chose well when they selected the legend which runs at its base—*Deo Adjuvante Labor Proficit.*

XII. THE GREAT MEN

WITHOUT making undue comparisons between them, one may say with confidence and justification that Sheffield has been particularly fortunate amongst great Yorkshire towns as regards its great men. Many towns in Yorkshire have produced truly notable citizens, from some of them men have gone afield to make great names in the larger world. But Sheffield has produced a singularly wide variety of greatness—scholars, inventors, politicians, musicians, captains of commerce, leaders of industry, pioneers of education. Some of these—notable men whose names will make a great figure in future-written history—are, happily, still living. Of them we will leave the coming chroniclers to speak; meanwhile, let us regard for a moment those who have been placed in one niche or another of Sheffield's Temple of Fame.

A first place, surely, should be given to the historian of Hallamshire, Joseph Hunter, one of the most learned and painstaking archæologists of the Yorkshire company of searchers into the past, worthy to rank with Thoresby, Whitaker, Dodsworth, and Burton. Born in Sheffield in 1783, Hunter came of a family which was then, and still is, associated with the chief industry of the city: three of its members have filled the proud office

of Master Cutler. He was apprenticed to the Cutlery Trade on the usual terms—that his master should find him in good and wholesome meat, drink, and lodging, and pay him sixteen pence a year in wages—and at the end of his servitude was duly admitted to the freedom of the Cutlers' Company. But he had other views, and about 1804 he proceeded to the Unitarian College at York and prepared for the ministry of that body. On the completion of his course at York he became minister of the Unitarians at Bath. But he had already begun his historical labours, and his ministerial work leaving him ample leisure, he spent much of his time during the next few years in preparing and writing his great "History of Hallamshire," which was published in 1819. It was followed in 1831 by his "History of the Deanery of Doncaster," better known as "South Yorkshire." He became so famous as an expert in historical work that in 1833 he was appointed to a post in the Public Records Office, which he held until his death in 1861. During this period he edited and published many important works—five volumes of the Pipe Rolls for the Record Commission; volumes for the Harleian and the Camden Society, and numerous works relating to his native county, such as the "Diary of Ralph Thoresby," a "Life of Oliver Heywood," an account of the Dodsworth Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, and an edition of the curious "Autobiography of Thomas Gent." No more industrious worker ever lived in this particular field: Sheffield has recently paid new honour to him by founding an archæological society which bears his name and is worthily continuing his work.

With the name of Hunter one naturally associates that of Alfred Gatty, who, in 1869, republished the " History of Hallamshire " with revisions and additions. Dr. Gatty was Vicar of Ecclesfield—in the parish church of which Hunter is buried—for sixty-three years. He lived to the patriarchal age of ninety, and he wrote and published many books on a variety of subjects: the mere titles fill a considerable space in one of the earlier numbers of the *Hunter Archæological Journal*. In addition to his edition of " Hunter," he wrote several smaller works on Sheffield history. Literary ability was strong in his family: his son, Alfred Scott Gatty, edited the Churchwardens' Accounts and the Parish Registers of Ecclesfield; his daughter, Mrs. Ewing, became famous as one of the most popular writers of books for children.

One of Hunter's contemporaries, Samuel Bailey, about whom there is much interesting information and criticism in a paper by Mr. R. E. Leader in the *Hunter Archæological Journal*, was one of those remarkably clever writers who never become known to the world but attain high reputation amongst a select class of critics and thinkers. Born in 1791, the son of a Sheffield merchant who in his time was Master Cutler, Bailey, after some share in the family business concerns and a journey to America, settled down to what was in the main a quiet and reserved life, though he took some part in public affairs and twice offered himself as candidate for Parliamentary honours. He was a Town Trustee, Chairman of the Sheffield Banking Company, Chairman of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and when he died he left nearly one hundred thousand pounds to the Town Trust

for the good of his native place. But his chief claim to fame lies in the undoubted fact that he was a writer of great power—still unknown to most readers. He published many works on politics, philosophy, and political economy; one, at any rate, "Essays on the Formation and Publication of Public Opinions," had some vogue in his time, for it went through three editions and was declared by the elder Mill worthy to rank with Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Some day, perhaps, some competent Sheffield man will edit Bailey's best work and make it more widely known.

Poets, like prophets, are seldom honoured in their own country, but Ebenezer Elliott, famous in his day as the Corn Law Rhymer, was so much appreciated by Sheffield working men that a statue of him, raised by their subscriptions, stands in public for future generations to see: there is, moreover, a portrait of him in the Town Hall. Born at Masborough in 1781, Elliott lived most of his life in Sheffield, engaged in the iron trade, and after some varying fortune, retired on a modest competency and lived near Barnsley amongst the scenery which he sometimes described with his pen. Much of his verse is of a mediocre and commonplace order—he was one of those poets who require a spur to bring out their best qualities. Such a spur was deeply driven into him by the iniquitous Bread Tax—his Corn Law Rhymes came from him then at white heat. In that white heat he was a great man—greater, perhaps, than has yet been recognized, though the workers still sing his chants. Thomas Carlyle reviewed some of Elliott's productions in No. 110 of the *Edinburgh Review*, in his own characteristic fashion: "The

JAMES MONTGOMERY
1771-1854
From the painting by J. R. Smith

p. 120

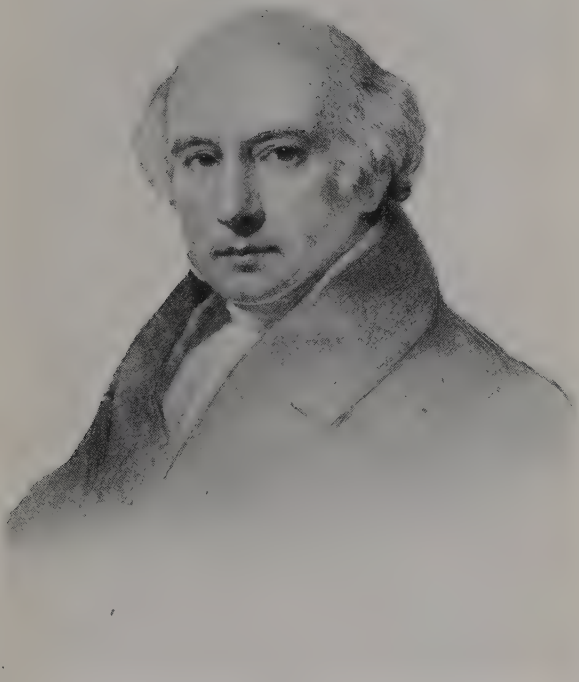
Library

works of this Corn Law Rhymer we might liken rather to some little function of a rainbow: hues of joy and harmony, painted out of troublous tears. No round full bow, indeed, gloriously spanning the heavens; shone on by the full sun; and with seven-striped gold-crimson border (as in some sort the office of Poetry) dividing Black from Brilliant; not such; alas, still far from it! Yet, in very truth, a little prismatic blush, glowing genuine among the wet clouds; which proceeds, if you will, from a sun cloud-hidden, yet indicates that a sun does shine, and above these vapours, a whole azure vault and celestial firmament stretch serene." Then—more clearly—he adds: "The speaker here is of that singular class who have something to say." Elliott certainly had something to say, and he said it, without mincing words.

Ebenezer Elliott was a much, very much better poet than Robert Montgomery, but Robert Montgomery has a deep-seated fame in Sheffield, perhaps because he wrote many popular hymns which Sheffield folk are fond of singing, perhaps because he figured as champion of Liberty in days when Freedom was scarce. Born at Wath-on-Dearne in 1771 and apprenticed to a baker, he fled from cakes and loaves to Sheffield, where he remained for the rest of his long life. Entering the office of the *Sheffield Register* as a clerk, he began to write for the paper with such ability that when its editor-owner fled the country in fear of prosecution for his Radical tendencies, Montgomery stepped into his shoes, and ultimately came to own and edit it himself. But he was soon to suffer the fate which his predecessor had escaped. Having changed the name of his journal to the *Sheffield Iris* he began to voice

his sentiments very freely. He rejoiced over the Fall of the Bastille: the judicial powers sent him to gaol for three months and fined him £20. He made some gentle remonstrances against the military when they killed two men in the Norfolk Square riots; the judicial powers became still more severe, and, fining him £30, sent him to prison for six months. He bore these hardships with equanimity, perhaps with contempt, continued to edit and print his *Iris*, wrote a good many poems which are forgotten and some hymns that are still remembered, lived a blameless and much respected existence, and was accorded a public funeral and a statue.

While Montgomery hailed from a baker's shop a much more famous man, Francis Chantrey, came out of a grocery establishment. Born at Norton, in Derbyshire, in 1781, Chantrey at an early age took a great fancy for wood-carving and served four years of apprenticeship at the craft. But in his twenty-first year he set up in Paradise Square in Sheffield as a portrait-painter, and did so well that he soon increased his price from two to five guineas. He soon went to London to study art, but he never lost touch with Sheffield, and continually returned to the town for various periods. He gave himself up to sculpture when he was twenty-three; the bust of James Wilkinson in the Cathedral is said to have been his first marble statue. The most famous sculptor of his time, knighted in 1835, Chantrey conferred on English art an inestimable benefit by founding the Bequest which bears his name, under the terms of which many excellent examples of modern painting have been secured for the nation.



SIR FRANCIS L. CHANTREY, R.A.
1781-1841

p. 122

In the North Choir Aisle (sometimes called the Musicians' Aisle because of the number of musicians laid and commemorated in it) of Westminster Abbey, in close proximity to Balfe and Purcell, Gibbons and Burney, lies William Sterndale Bennett, up to now the only Sheffield man who has attained the honour of sepulture in that time-honoured sanctuary of England's mighty dead. He was born at 8, Norfolk Row, in 1816, his father being then organist of the Parish Church. He was a choir boy of King's College at eight; a pupil of the Royal Academy at ten; a composer at twelve; the friend of Mendelssohn at seventeen; a teacher of repute at twenty-one. He was appointed Professor of Music at Cambridge University in 1856, and became Principal of the Royal Academy of Music ten years later. In 1858 his "May Queen" was produced at the Leeds Musical Festival; his "Woman of Samaria" was written thirteen years later and became most widely known of his compositions. He received the honour of knighthood in 1871, four years before his death.

Since it secured representation in the House of Commons, Sheffield has always been connected with eminent Parliamentarians, some of whom have achieved much more than local fame. One of its earliest members was John Arthur Roebuck, 1801–1879, a politician who more than once changed his creed but never his peculiar individuality. The grandson of a Sheffield man well known as an inventor, and as the virtual founder of the Scottish iron trade, Roebuck embraced politics as a profession from an early age, and before he was first elected for Sheffield in 1849 had already been twice elected for Bath. He was at first a particularly

advanced Radical; eventually a rigid Tory. The idol of the working classes in his young days, he was ignominiously rejected by the Sheffield working men in 1885—in spite of the fact that he was still the same Roebuck, for he himself never changed, however much his label might be altered. His successful opponent in 1885 was Anthony John Mundella, a Leicester man, who subsequently represented Sheffield for many years, and made himself useful and famous in connection with educational matters. He worked hard for Forster's great Act of 1870; he improved it eleven years later when he himself was Vice-President of the Council; he did important work in 1895 in connection with Poor Law Schools. In 1886 and again in 1892 he was President of the Board of Trade and a member of the Cabinet.

Of its own public men, closely associated with the rising fortunes of the city, Sheffield has of late years lost three whom it could ill spare, whose memories it will long venerate. Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin—1821–1910—head of the great firm of steel makers and engineers, Thomas Turton & Sons, Chairman of the Sheffield Gas Company, a Director of the Midland Railway, Master Cutler, Mayor, Town Trustee, and Town Collector, was a man of many interests and wide sympathies. He was a Member of Parliament; he was honoured with a Baronetcy; he gave large sums of money to Art, Education, and Philanthropic work; he was first Pro-Chancellor of the University. His contemporary, Sir Henry Stephenson, 1826–1904, was, like him, a great supporter of all educational movements, Mayor of the town in 1887, and Chairman of the Education Committee. Finally, in

Henry Fitzalan Howard, 15th Duke of Norfolk, 1847–1917, the city lost not only the most notable Lord of the Manor she had ever possessed, but a great, public-spirited, devoted servant. Premier Duke, Premier Earl, Earl Marshal, Chief Butler of England, of vast wealth and responsibilities, the late Duke of Norfolk never grudged time, money, or work to the city, of which in his time he was Alderman, Mayor, and first Lord Mayor, nor did he fill any of these offices in a merely ornamental fashion, for it was his way, all his life, in whatever he did, to do his work thoroughly and honestly. Easily approachable, full of tact, possessed of a rare sense of humour, a first-class business man, there is little wonder that he was highly popular with all classes, and was as much at home in Sheffield as in his great feudal castle of Arundel. The most generous of benefactors, his gifts and charities to Sheffield, not only in money but in land, were of a princely nature. When he died, Sheffield folk felt that they had lost a true and tried friend, in whose personality was the link that connected their city, in a straight line, through Talbots, Furnivals, and Lovetots, with the Sheffield of the Domesday Survey and the Sheffield of the last of the Old English who died out at the Norman Conquest.

INDEX

Attercliffe, 15, 61, 68, 71, 82, 83

Bailey, Samuel, 119 ff.
Bennett, William Sterndale, 123
Bessemer, Sir Henry, 89 ff.
Bolsover, Thomas, 68, 75 ff.
Brown, Sir John, 91 ff., 104
Burgery Records, The, 42 ff., 50, 56, 58, 61, 64, 66

Castle, Sheffield, 15, 16, 21, 25, 33, 34, 42, 47, 48, 78
Cathedral, The (Parish Church), 19, 25, 46, 51, 60, 79, 122
Chantrey, Francis, 122
Chatsworth, 27, 34, 82
Cutler's Company, The, 49 ff., 78, 96, 110, 118

"Domesday Survey," 13, 125

Elizabeth, Queen, 26, 36 ff.
Elliott, Ebenezer, 10, 120 ff.
English Chronicle, The, 13

Firth (University) College, 105, 111, 113
Furnival Family, The, 16 ff., 19 ff., 23, 40, 97, 125

Gatty, Alfred, 119
Gentleman's Magazine, The, 78, 83, 100

Hadfield, Sir Robert, 95
Hardwick, Elizabeth, 25 ff., 37
Hollis, Thomas, 80
Hunter, Joseph, 117
Huntsman, Benjamin, 68 ff., 88, 89

Inquisitions, The Furnival, 41 ff., 51

Lady Bridge, 21, 78
Lovetot Family, The, 15, 23, 39, 125

Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe, 106, 111, 124
Mary Queen of Scots, 17, 22, 25 ff., 29, 33 ff., 53
Montgomery, Robert, 121 ff.
Moss, John F., 104
Mushet, Robert, 89, 92

Norfolk, Dukes of (Earls of Arundel), 24, 28, 48, 85, 109, 111, 115, 125

READE, CHARLES, 101, 103
Roebuck, John Arthur, 123
Rotherham, 10, 12, 13, 51, 53, 58, 63, 86, 115
Ruskin, John, 106

SCOTT, SIR WALTER, 10
Sheffield Daily Telegraph, 103 104
Shrewsbury Chapel, 19, 20, 25
Shrewsbury, Earls of, 18, 19 ff., 30 ff., 33 ff., 53, 61, 79
Shrewsbury Hospital, 28
Siemens, Sir William, 89, 91 ff.

TALBOT Family, The, 19 ff., 39, 47, 53, 125

UNIVERSITY, The Sheffield, 113 ff.

WALTHEOF, EARL, 13 ff.
Wesley, John, 65
Wolsey, Cardinal, 11, 22, 29 ff., 35

THE END

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, LONDON AND BECCLES.

THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH TOWNS

A series of popular but scholarly histories of English towns, designed primarily for the general reader, but suitable also for use in schools. With maps, plans and illustrations.

Birmingham	Canon J. H. B. Masterman
Bristol	Prof. G. H. Leonard
Cambridge	A. Gray
Canterbury	Miss R. Spooner
Chester	Miss M. Taylor
Harrogate and Knaresborough	J. S. Fletcher
King's Lynn	Prof. E. Tyrrell Green
Leeds	J. S. Fletcher
Leicester	S. H. Skillington
Newcastle	Prof. F. J. C. Hearnshaw
Nottingham	E. L. Guilford
Oxford	The Warden of Wadham
Peterborough	K. E. & R. E. Roberts
Pontefract	J. S. Fletcher
St. Albans	W. Page
Sheffield	J. S. Fletcher
Shrewsbury	Dr. H. S. Cranage
Wakefield	The Rev. A. Goodall
Westminster	The Rev. H. F. Westlake
Windsor	Mrs. Temperley
York	Miss M. Sellers

(*Others in Contemplation*)

LONDON: S.P.C.K.

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

MODERN PL.

Sheffield public Libraries.

John Bartholomew & Co.

KW-277-885